# BEHIND THE "SPY" SCARE

SEE PAGE 3

MARCH 5
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# NEW MASSES

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## MIDDLE EAST POWDER KEG

by K. SEREZHIN

## FRENCH CULTURE AND MARXISM

by ROGER GARAUDY

## BECAUSE I AM A JEW

by ALBERT KAHN

**ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:** *Monopoly in Book Publishing, by Isidor Schneider; How Not to Denazify, by Hans Berger; Gropper Looks at India.*

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# BETWEEN OURSELVES

PEOPLE are wonderful—and anyone who doubts this is welcome to come up with gloves on and thrash out the argument any day between ten and six. Listen: In our February 12 issue we published a letter from Frank R. Harris in Monmouth, Ill. Mr. Harris explained that he could not enclose his renewal fee, because his livelihood depended on a Social Security allowance. He says: "My subscription will of necessity be withheld, but my interest in NEW MASSES, *never*."

Snow flew and thaws came, and with them a letter from a secretary in the West. "Please renew the subscription of Frank R. Harris, whose note seems such a patient and sad refrain and a gentle condemnation of a people who do not provide their aged with sufficient funds to purchase reading matter. . . . There are no doubt causes equally worthy and even more urgent than Mr. Harris', but perhaps because his letter, in its gentle humility, asked nothing, I am indulging myself. Should you use my letter, please do not use my name. Not because I am ashamed of its appearing in your splendid magazine but only because . . . I cannot renew a hundred subscriptions. However, as I am a secretary and every five dollars a serious item, I cannot."

No comment.

From Chicago, letter signed L——— M———, fifteen dollars and the following: "Enclosed money order for fifteen dollars for which renew my sub for one year. Also renew sub of Greenup Public Library, Greenup, Ill. The other sub is for the man in Monmouth, Ill., whose letter in last week's NM stated he was not able to renew. If this sub has been taken care of, then send NM to a library. . . . Received your letter re the fund drive. The enclosed subs are the best I can do now, *as I am temporarily unemployed*."

The italics are ours. A guy who has no job at the moment has raised fifteen bucks. A secretary with a salary which we are sure doesn't permit luxuries in clothes, perfume, or food at fancy prices, has sent a subscription for a man who can't afford even that.

LAST week, on page 17 of NM, we told you of our need, and of our plans. The response has not been what we had hoped for or what we must have. To widen our areas, to become the kind of publication you have all indicated you want, we *must* have money. We have sent a letter to our subscribers. You who read NM's last issue know about our appeal, mentioned above, within its pages. Many of you have responded. We received $6,444.65. But it is still not enough. We must have $50,000. We must have it now. Last year, this week, we had $9,885.75 within the same week.

Last year we did not have the costs now facing us, the changes contemplated, which are so important, so significant during this particular time.

We know people are wonderful. Prove it again—help us put NM on the basis it belongs. Help with that $50,000, and please don't waste time.

INTRODUCTIONS are fun, and they needn't be the "Pleased to meet you," and "Nice to have seen you," that they sometimes are. Witness Beatrice Siskind, who is now in charge of NM's promotion. She was an organizer for the Cannery Workers in Illinois, editor of the CIO *CAT* (publication of the Caterpillar Plant) in Peoria, Ill. and director of the Chicago Workers' School. In New York she established the Jewish School for Social Studies. In short she has been in general political educational work for a long time. Her favorite interest outside the office is one two-and-a-half-year-old daughter Josephine, and she likes the Marx brothers and Jimmie Durante. Beside that she is tall, dark, and quiet spoken, and a fine girl with whom to share a two-by-four office. Incidentally—she knows her business thoroughly.

WHO'S WHO: NEW MASSES readers will recognize Albert Kahn as the author of *The Plot Against the Peace*, and of the new best seller, *The Great Conspiracy*. K. Serezhin is a writer for the Soviet trade union monthly, *New Times*. Roger Garaudy is a member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party.

M. DE A.


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Behind the "Spy" Panic The Editors . . . . . 3
French Culture and Marxism Roger Garaudy . . . . . 5
Middle East Powder Keg K. Serezhin . . . . . 10
Anthem for UNO: a poem Oscar B. Rogers . . . . . 12
Because I Am a Jew Albert Kahn . . . . . 13
How Not To Denazify Hans Berger . . . . . 15
Gropper's Cartoon . . . . . 16
Marse Linkum: a poem John Sanford . . . . . 18
Editorial Comment . . . . . 19
Readers' Forum . . . . . 21
Monopoly in Book Publishing Isidor Schneider . . . . 23
Book Reviews: Man of Brittany, by Selwyn James: Sally Alford; Arch of Triumph, by Erich Maria Remarque: L. B.; Bad Boy of Music, by George Antheil: Frederic Ewen; The Book of Houses, by John P. Dean and Simon Breines; Tomorrow's House, by George Nelson: Henry Schubart; Democracy's Children, by Ethel M. Duncan: Herbert Aptheker; The Story of The Stars and Stripes, by Bud Hutton and Andy Rooney: Mack Ennius; Modern Women in Love, edited by Christina Stead and William Blake: Charles Humboldt; What the Informed Citizen Needs To Know, edited by Bruce Bliven and A. G. Mezerik: E. W. Davis; The Perfect Round, by Henry Morton: Kurt Conway; Brief Reviews: Rousseau, Kant, Goethe, by Ernst Cassirer; Take It Easy, by Arthur Guy Mathews; Lovely Is the Lee, by Robert Gibbings. . . . 24
On Broadway Matt Wayne . . . . . 30
Music Frederic Ewen . . . . . 31
Some Jazz Recordings S. F. . . . . 31



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# BEHIND THE "SPY" PANIC

## BY THE EDITORS

WE HAVE warned repeatedly that atomic diplomacy could lead only to atomic terror. In the course of one week the terror has started full blast under the disguise of a "spy" panic. Its purposes are as clear as the sun at high noon. By poisoning the American mind with fake fears our monopolists are preparing the way for large-scale aggression in every sector of the world and especially against the Soviet Union. They aim to crush the scientists. They aim to destroy the progressive forces in the country. They aim to pulverize the organizations that demand the maintenance of peace through harmony of the Big Three. The gilded up on top say to you that unless you knuckle under, you will be gagged with charges of espionage. The trick is an old one and the Nazis were masters of it. Such is the life of terror offered by the robber barons. They fear what the discovery of atomic fission will do to capitalism. For them it is fascism or bust.

As in the past the first blows are always directed against the USSR. In the eyes of the trusts the Soviet Union is the prime menace. It stands for peace and against fascism. It exposes the conspiracies of imperialism. During the opening sessions of the UNO it indicted the colonial monopolists before the whole world. That is what the Soviet statement points out in explanation of why a minor incident was blown up to explosive proportions. Small wonder that the American and Canadian gestapos were ordered to start a psychological onslaught against the Russians.

And that is only part of the story. For the larger story is that the American military hierarchy needs the "spy" panic to camouflage its own plans. Current American military planning was revealed recently as directed towards the destruction of the USSR. Listen to what Joseph and Stewart Alsop, who have inside tracks to the War and State Departments, wrote in the New York *Herald Tribune* on Jan. 4, 1946. The American militarists' "aim is to create a chain of air bases, from Okinawa through the Aleutians, across the Arctic extension of this hemisphere, and onward to Iceland, which will in fact encircle the Soviet Union and place at our mercy both European Russia and the great new industrial region in the Urals."

There it is in a nutshell. It is a continuation of the old interventionist wars of 1918 when American troops fought in Siberia. It is a continuation also of the large-scale espionage organized by London and Washington to destroy the Soviet government. Do you recall how British engineers were caught sabotaging Soviet plants? Do you recall how the Bruce Lockharts and the Sidney Reillys were sent into Russia by the victors of World War I to undermine the new way of life the Russians had won for themselves? Do you recall the Trotskyite traitors and their foreign connections? (For the full story read the new book by Albert Kahn and Michael Sayers, *The Great Conspiracy,* and Sender Garlin's pamphlet, *Enemies of the Peace.*) The Russians remember these capitalist plots and they are ever on the alert against new plots endangering their security.

What happened in Canada last week is but a small sample of the terror that will be used in the future in different forms and at different times. The incident itself may die away to be replaced by other carefully contrived panics that reveal the panic that exists in the minds of Anglo-American imperialists.

●

THERE is a domestic side to the policy of atomic terror. Before Hitler set out to conquer other nations he had first to conquer his own people. The anti-Comintern pact was only the extension of the assault of the Nazi trusts and their political hatchet-men on the German trade unions, on German Jews, Communists and other democrats. Is an American version of this Nazi pattern now being planned?

The giant monopolies, faced with the resistance of millions of workers to the reduction of their living standards, would like nothing better. Capitalist monopoly is inherently anti-democratic and generates reactionary and fascist tendencies as a law of its life. These pressures are now growing stronger in Washington and elsewhere. Recall the brazen efforts of the Truman administration to institute scientific and cultural repression through the May-Johnson bill on atomic energy. Consider the unrestrained fascist activities of the Wood-Rankin Committee which is attempting to outlaw the very word "democracy." And the



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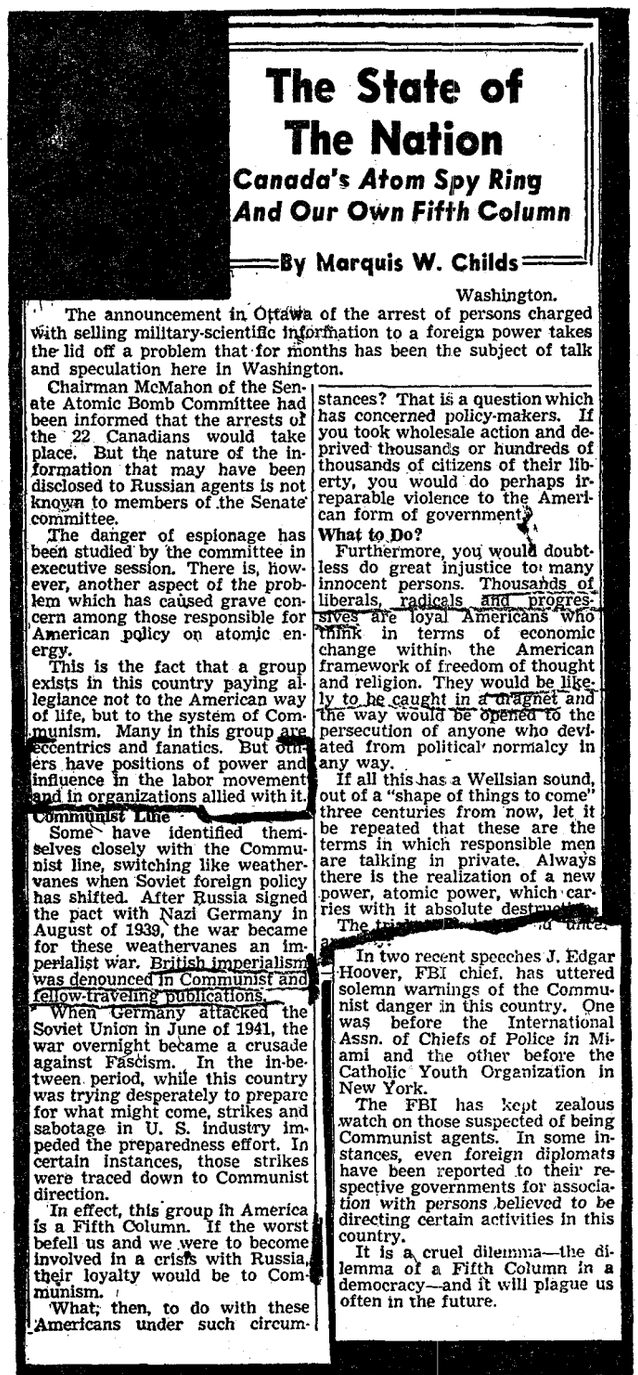
American Himmler, J. Edgar Hoover, is trying to launch an even more sweeping witch-hunt with loud alarums—very much like his German counterpart—about "Communism."

Symptomatic of the new temper in Washington is the fact that so-called liberal journalists are leading the pack. It was Drew Pearson who over the air and in his syndicated column first pumped the poison of the synthetic spy scare into the minds of the American people. And it was Marquis W. Childs—he who once extolled "the middle way"—who followed up with Red-baiting incitements in the Pegler way. Both these columnists were fed by higher-ups—was it Hoover or Truman's chief of staff, Admiral Leahy?



# The State of The Nation

## Canada's Atom Spy Ring And Our Own Fifth Column

By Marquis W. Childs

Washington.

The announcement in Ottawa of the arrest of persons charged with selling military-scientific information to a foreign power takes the lid off a problem that for months has been the subject of talk and speculation here in Washington.

Chairman McMahon of the Senate Atomic Bomb Committee had been informed that the arrests of the 22 Canadians would take place. But the nature of the information that may have been disclosed to Russian agents is not known to members of the Senate committee.

The danger of espionage has been studied by the committee in executive session. There is, however, another aspect of the problem which has caused grave concern among those responsible for American policy on atomic energy.

This is the fact that a group exists in this country paying allegiance not to the American way of life, but to the system of Communism. Many in this group are eccentrics and fanatics. But others have positions of power and influence in the labor movement and in organizations allied with it.

**Communist Line**

Some have identified themselves closely with the Communist line, switching like weathervanes when Soviet foreign policy has shifted. After Russia signed the pact with Nazi Germany in August of 1939, the war became for these weathervanes an imperialist war. British imperialism was denounced in Communist and fellow-traveling publications.

When Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June of 1941, the war overnight became a crusade against Fascism. In the in-between period, while this country was trying desperately to prepare for what might come, strikes and sabotage in U. S. industry impeded the preparedness effort. In certain instances, those strikes were traced down to Communist direction.

In effect, this group in America is a Fifth Column. If the worst befell us and we were to become involved in a crisis with Russia, their loyalty would be to Communism.

What, then, to do with these Americans under such circumstances? That is a question which has concerned policy-makers. If you took wholesale action and deprived thousands or hundreds of thousands of citizens of their liberty, you would do perhaps irreparable violence to the American form of government.

**What to Do?**

Furthermore, you would doubtless do great injustice to many innocent persons. Thousands of liberals, radicals and progressives are loyal Americans who think in terms of economic change within the American framework of freedom of thought and religion. They would be likely to be caught in a dragnet and the way would be opened to the persecution of anyone who deviated from political normalcy in any way.

If all this has a Wellsian sound, out of a "shape of things to come" three centuries from now, let it be repeated that these are the terms in which responsible men are talking in private. Always there is the realization of a new power, atomic power, which carries with it absolute destruc[illegible]

The [illegible] and three [illegible]

In two recent speeches J. Edgar Hoover, FBI chief, has uttered solemn warnings of the Communist danger in this country. One was before the International Assn. of Chiefs of Police in Miami and the other before the Catholic Youth Organization in New York.

The FBI has kept zealous watch on those suspected of being Communist agents. In some instances, even foreign diplomats have been reported to their respective governments for association with persons believed to be directing certain activities in this country.

It is a cruel dilemma—the dilemma of a Fifth Column in a democracy—and it will plague us often in the future.

New York "Post," February 18.

In his February 18 column Childs makes clear that his attack is directed not only at the Communists, but at the labor and progressive movement as a whole. He includes among the adherents of Communism people who "have positions of power and influence in the labor movement and in organizations allied with it." And he brands this group as a fifth column, agents of a foreign power. Childs senses the fact that widespread repression against Communists would also embrace "thousands of liberals, radicals and progressives," yet his column, by echoing the canards of the fascists, helps incite that very repression.

Childs turns reality inside out, falsifies facts, and betrays the liberalism he professes to champion. In France, in Italy, in Yugoslavia, in China, in Argentina, in country after country the Communists are an inseparable part of the democratic forces battling reaction and fascism—an inseparable part and the vanguard. The same is true of the United States, where it is just as natural for members of labor and progressive organizations to elect to posts of leadership staunch democrats with a small "d," including Communists, as it is for big business groups in control of the National Association of Manufacturers to elect imperialist reactionaries, including fascists.

There *is* a fifth column in this country, but it is the antithesis of the Communist movement. This fascist fifth column was coddled throughout the war and is now being shielded by the Department of Justice, the Wood-Rankin Committee, the commercial press and other agencies. The publication *In Fact* recently revealed that the Justice Department has evidence proving that Charles E. Coughlin of Royal Oak, Mich., was a paid Nazi agent. Why has it suppressed this evidence and refused to act on it? Why has the Justice Department failed to retry the gang of seditionists and anti-Semites to whom it graciously extended a farcical wartime trial?

Is it because the Truman administration, obedient to the wishes of the big business crowd that stands behind the Coughlins and Gerald L. K. Smiths and Elizabeth Dillings, is too busy working out the technique for gagging and bamboozling the American people as a prelude to imperialist hijacking abroad? Is it because our government is trying to build a capitalist world front against socialist Russia?

It is not for this that we Americans suffered a million casualties in the great war against fascism. And it was not in order to be turned into sheep that over the past twelve years we have fashioned in the trade unions, in a host of other people's organizations and in the thinking of millions, new weapons of freedom. Let's use them now to halt the steps toward fascism and war.



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# FRENCH CULTURE AND MARXISM

## By ROGER GARAUDY

*M. Garaudy, who is a member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, presented the following report to the tenth national congress of the French Party on the tasks of French Party intellectuals in the cultural and moral rebirth of France — the French Renaissance, as it is usually called.* NEW MASSES *readers who have been following the discussions on the role of the Left writer in the USA that arose from Albert Maltz' "What Shall We Ask of Writers?" (NM, February 12) and the articles by Samuel Sillen in the "Daily Worker," Joseph North and Howard Fast in* NEW MASSES *criticizing Maltz's position as fundamentally a bourgeois liberal one, will be especially interested in how the French Communists analyze and propose to solve the problems of France's cultural workers. This is the first publication of the full text of M. Garaudy's report.*

OUR comrade Maurice Thorez has strongly emphasized in his report that the renaissance of French culture is one of the tasks of the Party.

Our Party must be the prime mover of the struggle, prime mover of economic reconstruction and the prime mover of intellectual and moral rebirth, because it alone is capable of it.

We still have a great deal to accomplish in this sphere. We have the capacity for it. The greatest masters of thought and of the arts are with us or near us. Our electoral success among the middle classes of the cities is proof of the drawing-power of our Party in the intellectual and semi-intellectual social strata.

There are in France half a million men and women in the liberal professions. Their influence on national life is infinitely greater than their numerical strength might indicate. They constitute most of the current leadership in the country. Theirs are the opportunities of initiative, of suggestion, of creation. Nowadays, there is no other way out for them, no other pole of intellectual attraction but Communism. However, we have among them at this very moment many sympathizers but few militants.

Why do we face these difficulties?

First of all, because the mode of selection for the liberal professions is to such an extent determined by class interests that it leaves untouched the major part of the intellectual wealth of the nation.

Half of the French people have not graduated from elementary school. Only one in every one hundred of the French have their "*baccalaureat*" [that is, a diploma given for the completion of what would correspond to the sophomore year in an American college]. Three-fourths of that group are sterilized by mediocre public service. Half of those who are left become failures—useless, embittered persons. Those who survive—research workers and creative artists—are so helpless that the system makes of their research and of their artistic creations a merchandise at the mercy of a metallurgic or patent-medicine trust, of an editor, of a publishing house, of an art dealer or of a theatrical producer.

This selective process, in which social considerations of wealth play such a big role, already explains the moral fluctuations of our intellectuals. Severed from the deep masses of the people by a very narrow recruiting-range, they easily lose a sense of urgency, responsibility and obligation. They are prone to make of their aloofness a virtue, of their social uselessness a stamp of aristocracy and beauty. In their minds, to be passionately driven by the same aims as are the popular masses amounts to excluding themselves from the company of people who are distinguished and refined. Let an artist treat the vital, immediate problems that enthrall the nation and his fellow-artists hurl excommunication at him for his "indulging in propaganda."

In the past, some people made themselves apostles of this fleshless intelligence. They called the intellectuals' participation in the suffering and struggle of mankind the "betrayal of the intellectuals." Andre Gide is the most perfect representative of this decadence. He said this about action: "I am afraid of compromising myself with it. I mean: I am afraid of limiting what I could do by what I do." He advocates the state of detachment, the aloof waiting, the adherence to nothing. In a word, by the simple play of a system in which a handful of parasites from the "two hundred families" disposes of the wealth produced by the hands and brains of 40,000,000 Frenchmen, an intellectual is inclined to be a weak-willed sophist and an unbalanced individualist.

ALL that explains why the intellectuals have been the most incapable of understanding the years 1938-39, the years of Munich, the years of the Great Lie.

Too many students, too many intellectuals learned from Alain "to believe in nothing"; from Giono, to escape from problems by relying on a more or less lyrical naturalism; from Montherlant, to intoxicate themselves with artistic egotism. Men like Ramon Fernandez, Drieu La Rochelle proclaimed a new secret of life with each one of their published conversions. Each new caper brought them closer to the Hitlerian ditch—into which they finally fell. Each clown had his fans and they followed him everywhere. When our young students were tired of this decadent individualism and its mediocre adventures, when they were bewildered by too many spiritual bankruptcies, they were ripe for Maurras [Charles M. Maurras, editor-in-chief of *L'Action Francaise*, the royalist daily].

In this nihilist, decadent game, Hitler had won every throw. Maurras also won every throw: he succeeded in attracting to his ideas in France the same kind of desperate persons as Hitler had in Germany. He soon became the favorite master of all sickly souls. He went back to the source of the evil: man must not attempt to live for himself; he must give up looking within himself for the meaning of life. "I had but one desire," wrote Maurras. "It was to strike down individualism."

According to Maurras, individualism gave birth only to an "obscene chaos," the chaos of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and of the Citizen of 1789, a document which Maurras called "an abominable gospel of liberty and equality."

In his wish to strike out 1789 from history (a wish proclaimed by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, and one which is the quintessence of all the philosophical and political works of Maurras), Maurras was not frightened by any consequence. In order to destroy democracy, he did not hesitate to destroy in his disciples conscience itself and what the Christians call the "human personality." In



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order to destroy democracy, he did not hesitate to betray and surrender France.

Thus, on the eve of war, the conditions were realized, both intellectual and moral, for treason and defeat. The reactions caused by the Soviet-Nazi Pact permitted the registration of the lowest level of that kind of thought.

REPRESSION and underground war have cleansed many of our intellectuals of their aloofness, abstraction and individualism.

The people gave without stint in order to preserve the very purpose of life and the culture and liberty of France.

Swept along by the example of the working class, which paid for the cause of liberation with the greatest blood-tribute and sacrifices, the best of our intellectuals have participated in the struggle. Many fell. The places of men like Peri, Politzer, and Solomon remain unfilled. While we bow to their memory, I would like us to invoke the example of their life as much as that of their death. In their death they served their Party and France as citizens. In their life they served their Party and France with the means that were their own as intellectuals.

I insist upon this point: the Party expects its intellectuals to be militants, not only when they come to the meetings of clubs and to demonstrations; not only militants on Sundays and Tuesdays, but militants in their every day life, in their intellectual work.

The first duty of a Communist mathematician is to be a good mathematician.

The first duty of a Communist engineer is to be a good engineer.

The first duty of a Communist artist is to be a great artist.

The first duty of a Communist historian is to be a good historian.

What does this mean?

This means that the conception of life which our Party gives us broadens our professional horizon; that it permits us to pose our problems better, to place them in a whole, larger than our specialty, and consequently to solve them better, that is to say, with all our humanity and not from an abstract point of view.

The Communists' conception of life, dialectical materialism, is the fountainhead of all spiritual greatness.

All this may seem abstract. Here are a few examples of what we have noticed:

There are in our Party a few professors of history. They are excellent comrades; they attend their club or section meetings; they do all that is asked of them. They are fundamentally Communists. But they forget this quality when performing the duties of their professorial calling; their courses sound like the ones taught by their colleagues; they are as alike as twin brothers. Marxism controls their gestures, but not their thoughts. For an intellectual, this thing has its importance, however. In asking them to be Marxists in their teaching, the Party does not request them to indulge in partisan history, but in scientific history. It would be very much of a scandal if while he adhered to Communism, whose founder is the initiator of scientific history, a historian should continue his idealistic and unscientific teaching. This is why we say that for a historian to be a Communist means first of all to be a good historian.

With the artists we notice the same state of affairs. We know some of the greatest painters, who, at the time of underground activity and liberation, left their brushes to grab a tommygun. With the tommygun they placed themselves at the people's disposal. But when they took up their brushes again they resumed painting for a narrow circle of snobs and decadents.

I do not suggest that a man is a great painter because he paints a barricade or Thorez' portrait, but I maintain that a great Communist painter, a man who has proved that he can be activated by the same urge as are the people, must be able to use his talent to express that passionate urge.

That is the problem.

Our intellectuals have learned how to serve the Party as citizens. They have not yet learned to serve it as intellectuals.

When the foe was obvious in his green uniform, they found a means of fighting very courageously. Today the enemy is more difficult to detect; and then also, it is no longer just a question of fighting: they must create.

Our writers knew how to fight against the Boche and against Petain. But nowadays the continuation of this struggle for freedom consists not only in claiming the right to publish anything whatsoever. This right which has been won over the opposition of the Kommandaturs and Vichy's censorship is something more positive. I refer to the creation of new thoughts and new dreams for a France busy renovating herself and being reborn.

In order to find their way, intellectuals have a guide: the Party. If so many intellectuals, even those at a distance from us, have confidence in the Party these days, it is because they reason: "it is a party of people who know at what they are aiming." The intellectuals who are not Communists, for the most part, do not know at what they are aiming and they follow the one who speaks to them with the greatest frankness and authority. And this is why we must not be afraid of stating what we are aiming at and why and how. The worst of errors is the fear of taking a stand. Therein we lose all our attractive force and our repute. Many organizations and literary magazines, at the head of which are comrades, good comrades, are sterilized and little by little emptied of their drawing power by the obsession, the superstition of a false unity, of a so-called "very wide" unity. There prevails too often a sectarianism of unity: unity at any price; a unity which has no principle and no doctrine. This is not real unity. It is simply confusion, the contrary of unity. This false unity does not cause the intellectuals to gather round us; it keeps them off. If we are as much as others a prey to confusion, and as incapable as they are of being original, there is no reason for people to come to us. And how can you expect anything original and new from an organization, a newspaper in which are placed side by side men in whom are incarnated the worst forms of decadence and intellectual decay and who drag after them in a new world their old taints, and well-intentioned Communists who are paralyzed by the dread of giving the impression that they are materialists, innovators, Communists?

When Andre Gide, who hushed his "great voice" during the years of occupation, is extolled in a former underground newspaper, do you think this newspaper is keeping the visage of grandeur, purity and youth that gave it prestige in its days of illegal existence?

When an unhealthy passion for unprincipled unity makes certain organizations take delight in counting among them "great names," in welcoming the worst gangsters of the theater and motion pictures, do they think they are preparing a renaissance of the theater and the film? No, because the play and the motion picture cannot be defended in their company, but must be defended against them.

The Party gives us intellectuals three things which we must not hide under the bushel, but rather exhibit:

1. It gives us a sense of national urgency and a creative spirit.

2. It gives us a sense of intellectual unity, of what may be called the encyclopaedic meaning of dialectical mate-



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rialism, which puts our thoughts in order as it does our actions, our science and our ethics.

3. It gives us a sense of national continuity, of the necessity of perpetuating and renewing the rationalist and materialist tradition of the French Revolution, the source of French unity.

In creating the *Encyclopedia of the French Renaissance*, we wished to gather the fruit of all that our Party and its doctrine gives us on an intellectual level.

To develop in our intellectuals (and I refer not only to Communist, but to all French intellectuals) the sense of national urgency, of constructive spirit, amounts to giving them confidence in themselves. It is possible to participate in the national rebirth with one's brain as well as with one's hands. No one thinks otherwise, except sometimes the intellectuals themselves. "Proletarianism" is an intellectual's misconception. A few weeks ago a professor at the Sorbonne, a noted specialist, in asking to join the party, requested me to give him a chance to serve it to the best of his ability. We asked him for work in his special field. "No," he replied to us, "I wish to serve in a more efficient and more social manner." As if the careful and creative thinking, the deep-rooted and living thinking which dialectical materialism and our Party teach us to conceive had not a wonderfully efficient and social value.

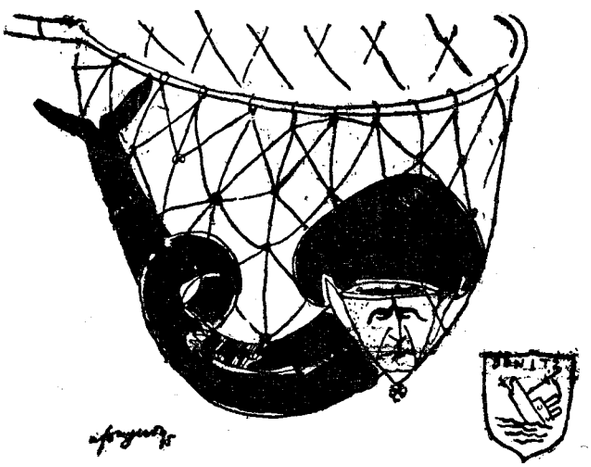
It is time for some of our intellectuals to get over that inferiority complex under which they sometimes labor. We must not be ashamed to be intellectuals unless we are bad intellectuals. And our Party gives us the means of becoming real intellectuals with our feet on the ground, our heads on our shoulders and with clear thoughts and efficient will. Our Party is a school for thought as well as for action.

Our *Encyclopedia of the French Renaissance* will prove this. It is already under way: "preliminary works" will be published in a few weeks.

A team of architects is writing a study for us on reconstruction which must become the textbook or breviary for war-destroyed municipalities. A man-centered doctrine of urbanism, and a concrete directive for immediate reconstruction.

A team of physicians is taking account of war-won medical acquisitions and is studying their civilian application.

The commissions of the Engineers and Technicians Union are preparing papers for us on the industrial retooling of France and on the prospective rich-



**Motifs for Nuremberg: Goering, Doenitz and Keitel, by A. Fougeron, from the French literary weekly, *Lettres Francaises*.**



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ness of our soil, both in the mother-country and in the colonies.

Our professors of history are at work: six of them are preparing historical textbooks for children, dating from the Revolution to our own days. With the reopening of the schools, we will help to free our school-children from the miasmas of Vichy's obscurantism.

Our painters have started to work. Instead of offering their pictures to merchants for a handful of snobs in search of rare thrills, unreal compositions, and fantastical escapes having no connection with national life, they are now painting for the masses of the people. Picasso is busy with Thorez' portrait; Pignon, with Duclos'; Fougeron, with Cachin's. Others are relating Fabien's life with pictures. They are beginning to feel the grandeur which is *brought into their art by the faith of a people* when it bursts upon their canvas. We are beginning to prepare color reproductions of these great works. Soon pictures by our great master-painters will replace in each peasant or worker home the postman's calendar.

The task of our artists consists in bringing about the union of art with the nation. They are not the last to benefit by this transformation. From now on they have to satisfy other needs than those of a handful of decadent and sickly snobs who were their customary patrons and who led them to the worst experiments and aberrations. They have to respond to the needs of a people whose passions are stronger, healthier, more human and more vivifying for their art.

**Tempera and Ink by Sgt. Theodore Fuchs.**

I HAVE a question to ask Pignon and Fougeron, who are present: "Where do you feel truly at home? In the little galleries of art, chapels of snobbism, where you exhibit the idols of the idlers' cultus, or in this room where your art embodies the needs of a people in the harmonies of beauty?"

Is it not this new strength you came to find in our Party? What would be the meaning of your adherence if you were not to cling to the highest part of yourself, to your conscience and to your work as an artist? For an artist, his joining the Party means to accept, to seek the risk of a conversion to grandeur.

And there is another thing: the great Parisian theaters continuously present to us the spectacle of souls that go to pieces, of the doubt and pessimism of decadent societies: *Le Huit-Clos* of Sartre, the poet of nihilism; the depressing *Antigone* of Jean Anouilh; *Wuthering Heights* and the whole procession of morbid plays. Should we still be living in the days of the old man [Petain], in the days of treason, when they tried daily to make us believe we were a burned-out nation? A people that stands up once more, in spite of the apostles of decadence and despair, a people that has chosen between life and death, and that chose to live and to conquer, as did Fabien, wants to leave the motion picture house and the theater with other desires than that of committing suicide. The French expect our writers and actors to help them live, live to the full extent of their individual, human dimensions, of all their joy and faith. They are thirsty for the tonic, heroic and national masterpieces. The decadent artists, whose feelings are smaller than their fame, are incapable of giving them these things.

We have found young people imbued with this spirit of innovation. Starting the first of September, 1945, a theatrical company of the *Encyclopedia of the French Renaissance* will begin to play in the Paris suburbs. It will be the National Theater, with new plays, in which the theater, following Gemier's wish, will renew itself by tackling the problems that passionately interest us.

In an altogether different sphere, here is what we are able to announce to the young people: within two months there will be published a technical book on glider flying, written by a young engineer, a builder of gliders, who is a champion in motorless flight, having covered 294 kilometers in a glider. Very concrete plans and drawings will be published by us at low prices for the benefit of the young workers themselves. With the profit of the sale of the textbook and the drawings, the *Encyclopedia of the French Renaissance* will offer on November 1 to the Union of Republican



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Youth of France, the material necessary for the building of three gliders.

Those are the tasks; those are the realizations we propose to all our intellectuals without delay. The job is begun. The workshop awaits them. And it is limitless. There is work and joy for all.

THIS is only a part of our task: the one of immediate reconstruction. We are looking farther away. The *Encyclopedia of the French Renaissance* intends to continue French thinking along the lines of its most imposing traditions. I mean that of our eighteenth century rationalists and materialists, Helvetius and Diderot, whose *Encyclopedia* became the ideological arsenal of the French Revolution. Their doctrine was, like that of Robespierre, Baboeuf and Buonarotti, one of the bases of French unity and a precursor of French Communism. It is doubly dear to us.

The most famous of French scholars, Paul Langevin and Joliot-Curie, who are also members of our Party, are doing the groundwork of a large synthesis of our knowledge and technique which will continue the one of the Eighteenth Century: that of Diderot and D'Alembert. The first synthesis was governed by the materialist-mechanist doctrine. Ours will be dominated by the only doctrine capable today of embracing in a whole science, technique and the arts: dialectical materialism.

Since the thirteenth century it has always been in France that these great works of intellectual unity have been born. And we are proud of being able to state that today our Communist Party alone is in possession of the doctrine and method which permit the pursual and renewal of this great spiritual mission of France.

Solidly buttressed by truth, this doctrine and method permit us to undertake precise duties without theoretical conciliation to all men of good will.

These are our ambitions. They are imposing. They are in scale with French grandeur, in scale with the national responsibilities of our Party.

But a question is asked: the adoption of which method of work will allow our Party to accomplish this great task?

In this matter, the most fruitful and tested principle appears to be the following: First of all, intellectuals must be given particular jobs. The *Encyclopedia* fulfills this condition. It can mobilize all kinds of intellectual specialists for jobs of national interest.

It is equally absurd to have Communist intellectuals work solely among themselves. They must continue in the jobs the *Encyclopedia* offers them as intellectuals, with the condition that they promise to perform their national and constructive tasks with all their technical competence.

WE MUST consider as a harmful utopia the settled habit of asking intellectuals to work for no monetary rewards. We live under the capitalist regime. Living conditions of artists and of intellectuals in general are often poor. We must create income-yielding enterprises of intellectual production. Publishing pays. Shows in chain theaters pay. There is no reason at all for the financial administration of our intellectual organisms not to be healthy. We can and we must pay the creators and the research workers. One hundred thousand copies of an original picture, paying the artist one franc's royalty a copy, for instance, yields him as good a standard of living as if he had sold the oil painting for 100,000 francs to an art patron or to a dealer. And the reproduction scheme makes for the artist's moral independence and adds to his work because he is in contact with the masses, a breath, a human equilibrium which are the very conditions of the spiritual health of his art.

In order to reach these several goals, we must: (1) Take a census of all the intellectual members of our Party—a necessity which militant intellectuals of all categories understand; (2) Tie intellectual work more intimately with the Party and likewise coordinate the efforts of the Party's intellectuals. Intellectual work is a facet of the work of reconstruction as important as the work among the young people, the peasants or the women. It therefore needs the same control and the same kind of directives from the leaders of the Party.

We must centralize all the documentation pertaining to the material conditions of the intellectuals' work, to the social organization of intellectual life, and to the problems of the rebirth of French culture. We must organize the intellectuals' work with the idea of bridging the undeniable gaps in the Party's documentation.

We do not have, for example, any up-to-date work on political economy. We must do research work in order to demonstrate with statistics and new facts the theories of *Capital* by Marx and *Imperialism* by Lenin. We must be able to provide each region of the Party with economic documentation pertaining to the financial tie-up of their local enterprises, so in their fight against the trusts these regions will be in a position to support their campaigns with precise and local facts. Thus we would increase tenfold the Party's strength and propaganda. *L'Humanite* [the Communist daily] would not be the last to rejoice in it. And yet it would take only a few teams of professors and engineers to study financial periodicals, economic yearbooks, the documents in the Ministries and the chambers of commerce.

This is one among the thousands of services that organized intellectual work can perform for the Party. It is a question of creating agencies whose duties would consist in arousing initiative and in coordinating efforts on a national scale.

In the regions and sections, intellectual militants have already received the job of keeping the national Party officials posted as to recruiting in the liberal professions, of coming into contact with the popular intellectual organizations and of seeing to it that Communist intellectuals become their guiding spirits. They also have the job of collaborating in the work of documentation, research and innovation with all intellectuals capable of giving technical help in any field whatsoever.

The *Encyclopedia of the French Renaissance* will serve as a bond between Communist and non-Communist intellectuals. It throws open workshops for everyone. It can mobilize an unlimited number of research workers and with them, it can furnish an impetus which will be decisive in the spiritual rebirth of France.

The first results justify all our hopes. We have come into contact with many of the intellectual bigwigs of Paris. And we have often been disappointed. The most world-famous person of the theater received us with kindness, but repeated five times within three-quarters of an hour: "There is nothing to be done." This is not our belief. For four years Petain mumbled the same inanity.

But in the offices of the *Encyclopedia* we have seen coming to us young men in whose life there is one great interest: for this one it is the theater, for that one the glider, for the next, prospecting for oil. These are the living ones.

As Victor Hugo wrote:

*The ones who live are the ones who struggle,*
*The ones whose soul and head are filled with high purposes . . .*

Yes, these are the living ones. Comrades, these living ones, wherever they come from, if they come to serve, have already joined us. These are the builders

(*Continued on page* 18)



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# MIDDLE EAST POWDER KEG

## By K. SEREZHIN

*Moscow (by cable).*

SINCE the end of the war efforts of the Arabs to release their countries from a state of dependence, and to put an end to various imperialist maneuvers that have impaired their national sovereignty and retarded their economic development, have taken definite form. They are expressed in the struggle for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt and for the revision of those treaties between Arab countries and foreign states which palpably curtail Arab independence. These efforts are also directed towards the abolition of the already compromised League of Nations mandatory system.

Changes brought about by the Second World War provided conditions necessary for the Arab countries to acquire national sovereignty. The war has left a deep mark on the Middle East and has given rise to considerable alterations in its international position and led to many important internal advances. Changes in the economy of the Arab countries have taken place, mutual relations have developed and more intimate political and economic bonds have been formed between them. The defeat of Germany and Italy resulted in a severe setback for local fascist agents and their efforts to use for their own ends the progressive strivings of the Arab peoples for independence and unity.

Important changes have also occurred in the relation of forces between the great powers that consider themselves interested in a solution of Middle East problems. Because of a number of circumstances, France was compelled to agree to a proclamation of independence for her mandated territories of Syria and Lebanon. On the other hand, the United States has become active in the Middle East and is displaying considerable interest in the economic penetration of Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen. The conflict among the contradictory interests of powers that are jealously guarding their old positions in the Arab world, and the efforts of the Arabs to achieve at last the independence that the Allies promised them as long ago as 1918 have now led to tense political situations in the Middle East. They manifest themselves in the bloody clashes in Palestine, a number of incidents in the Levant, in the Cairo demonstrations and in numerous but still fruitless diplomatic negotiations concerning the fate of a number of Arab countries in the Suez Canal zone and along the East Mediterranean littoral.

Today, as has been the case during the past few decades, Arabs in their struggle for independence turn to that Arab unity which played an effective role during the Moroccan war of liberation, the Syrian uprising in the twenties, and during the disturbances in Palestine in the twenties and thirties.

Shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War, the idea of Arab unity found expression in the diplomatic documents known as the Treaty of Arab Brotherhood and alliance between Saudi Arabia and Iraq, to which Yemen later became a party. The treaty, concluded in Baghdad in April 1936, provided for the cooperation of its signatories in the fields of economy and culture and for the amicable settlement of differences that might arise and for mutual aid in case of aggression.

As foreign observers have noted, the idea and slogans of Arab unity have taken on new forms and new content under present-day conditions. The American quarterly *Foreign Affairs* has pointed out that the problem of Arab union, which has come to the forefront in the discussion of political perspectives for the whole Middle East and even for North Africa, becomes still more weighty when considered in light of its connection with problems of world import, notably maintenance of British imperial communications and American activity in Africa and Asia.

AMONG the various projects for the political unification of Arab countries that made their appearance while the Second World War was still in progress, the one which caused the greatest hubbub was the so-called "Greater Syria" plan, whose author was Nuri Said, the former Iraq prime minister. This was a plan to federate Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan and part of Palestine in a "Greater Syria" to be known as the "inner circle" which would in turn be federated with Iraq, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, called the "outer circle." The project proposed the Emir Abdullah Ibn Hussein of the Hashimite dynasty and present ruler of Transjordan, as king of "Greater Syria." The Emir Abdullah is a close relative of King Feisal II of Iraq. Presumably by ascending the throne of a "Greater Syria" in addition to that of Iraq, the Hashimite dynasty would assure its hegemony in the Arab world and, in view of its British orientation, bring the whole Arab federation, including Syria and Lebanon, under British control.

Nuri Said's plan naturally did not meet with the sympathies of Egypt or Saudi Arabia. But the most strenuous objections were raised in Syria and Lebanon. These two republics, which evinced the greatest desire for independence during the Second World War, do not want to relinquish their sovereignty or their republican form of government. The "Greater Syria" plan would convert these republics into provinces of the Hashimite monarchy and place them under foreign control. Not so long ago when the political intrigues connected with the "Greater Syria" plan again became more intense, Shukri Kouatly, the president of Syria, called this idea a purely imperialist project.

After the majority of the Arab states had expressed their positive rejection of Nuri Said's plan for Arab federation the initiative in the Pan-Arab movement went to Egypt. From August 1943, up to the convening of the Conference of Arab Foreign Ministers in February and March 1945, Egyptian diplomacy became particularly active, as a result of which agreement to form a League of Arab States was finally reached at the Pan-Arabian Congress held in March 1945. Some foreign observers at that time connected the comparatively speedy conclusion of the final stages of setting up the Arab League with conversations which President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had at the beginning of 1945 in Cairo with Arab leaders, especially with Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia and King Farouk I of Egypt.

The pact of the League of Arab States—signed March 22, 1945 in Cairo by representatives of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Transjordan and later by Saudi Arabia and Yemen—came into force on May 10 of that year after the ratification by all the signatories. In December 1945, Palestine was admitted as a member of the League. According to the report of the Cairo pact, the League is a permanent regional organization of independent Arab states. It



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aims at rapprochement between the Arab countries and the coordination of their political activities for the purpose of ensuring peace and security in the Middle East and protecting the sovereignty of the Arab peoples.

One cannot, however, close one's eyes to the fact that certain extraneous forces by no means interested in the protection of the sovereign rights of the Arab countries are inclined to give the activities of the Arab League an entirely different objective. They are certainly trying to influence the League in other directions. Bearing this in mind, comment in the foreign press on the establishment and prospects of this regional federation is not devoid of interest: it reveals the efforts of certain circles to turn the Arab League into some sort of bloc or alliance which will not serve Arab interests in the least.

"The idea of Arab federation," wrote the Turkish newspaper *Aksam*, "is encouraged by Great Britain. The Arab League would be a strong weapon for the protection of imperial communications, and oil fields throughout the whole stretch of territory from Egypt to Basra [Iraq]."

**Woodcut by Antonio Frasconi.**

The effort to give this interpretation to the idea of the Arab League is confirmed by recent reports that the League might possibly be extended to include the dependent Arab countries—the British protectorates of Muscat and Oman (in the eastern corner of Arabia), Kuwait (on the northwestern coast of the Persian Gulf), the Bahrein Islands (in the Persian Gulf), and others. Foreign reviewers stress the fact that such expansion should increase the influence of the League and of Arab politicians who are completely dependent on London.

There have been even more definite pronouncements concerning the role which certain foreign circles wish to allot the Arab League. In the Turkish press which only a year ago evinced but scant delight at the establishment of the League, voices have since been raised in favor of Arab-Turkish rapprochement. Furthermore, Ankara politicians have recently been making extraordinary efforts to include the Arab League in all kinds of combinations connected with the idea of an "Oriental Alliance." A Cairo correspondent of *France Presse* recently reported that reactionary circles cherish the thought of using this "Oriental Alliance" as a kind of buffer against the Soviet Union.

Naturally only practical activity of the Arab League can show to what extent it will justify its sponsors' hopes that it will be capable of uniting the Arab states in the interest of national emancipation and not for the purpose of serving the interests of outside foreign policy.

SINCE the League came into force, events of great moment have occurred in the Arab countries. Last May and June there was conflict between France on the one hand and Syria and Lebanon on the other in which Great Britain played a very active role. The conflict developed into armed encounter and threatened the sovereignty of the two young republics. The world then saw grave events in Palestine where literally on the morrow of war there began a bloody clash, which still continues, between the British colonial authorities and the population. The seriousness of the situation in Palestine is borne out by the constant increase in strength of the local British garrisons and naval forces. Lastly in Egypt and Iraq a mass movement has developed demanding the revision of treaties abridging the sovereignty of these countries and the withdrawal of British troops.

How did the League react to these events that are setting the whole Arab world in uproar? In June 1945, on the



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demand of the governments of Syria and Lebanon, which appealed to the Arab League for help, an extraordinary session of the Arab League Council was called "to study the resultant situation and adopt suitable measures," as the official communique said. The session was opened on June 4 and continued until June 11. It was then announced that the session was suspended but that members of the council intended to meet again in the near future. No other meetings took place, however, and all that became known was that the League council recommended that all Arab states "adopt necessary measures against French aggression." Some observers at that time explained the suspension of the League Council as due to British proposals to turn the question of Syria and Lebanon over to a commision of three powers—Great Britain, France, and the United States —against which the governments of Syria and Lebanon protested.

**News item: Democratic vote declines in New York's 19th congressional district. Johannes Steel loses by small margin as ALP vote rises from eighteen to thirty-eight percent.**

The situation in these two Levantine Republics has recently become still more tense after the conclusion of the Anglo-French agreement of December 13, 1945. As Faiz Al-Khoury, who heads the Syrian delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, stated, Syria cannot understand "how this step can be held to be in line with the principles of security. The presence of foreign armed forces on Syrian and Lebanese soil does in fact, as judged by past experience, present serious danger to security. . . ."

The Palestine question was another test for the Arab League. In contradiction to the majority of the Arab states which have already been granted formal independence, Palestine is still mandated to Great Britain. The Palestine problem has become much more intricate because of the constant conflicts, fanned from without, between the Arab and Jewish populations.

Plans for creating a Zionist Jewish state in Palestine are supported by influential American circles. The publication of President Truman's message containing the proposal to transfer 100,000 Jews from Europe to Palestine and the subsequent British-American negotiations on this subject have added to the complexity of the Palestine problem. The British-American Committee on Palestine Affairs which was set up undertook to solve the problem without the participation of those directly interested.

In connection with the formation of the British-American committee on this question, foreign press observers call attention to the fact that certain American and British circles are trying to link up the Palestine problem with the question of the fate of the Jewish population of Europe. By this, however, no actual provision is contemplated for the thousands of Jewish families who have suffered from the atrocities and persecution of the Hitlerites and who are trying to get their feet on solid ground. It is obvious that the creation of normal conditions for the life and future of the Jews of Europe does not depend on Palestine immigration quotas but on energetic measures for the complete eradication of fascism, racial fanaticism and its consequences, on real help for the Jewish people.

On the other hand it is pointed out that the acute stage the Palestine problem has now reached reflects sharply the conflicting interests of Great Britain and America in the Middle East. Bevin's announcement concerning the British-American compromise on the Palestine question and possible retention of present quotas for Jewish immigration while "the problem is being studied" is, in the opinion of the Cairo *Le Progres Egyptien*, a disappointment to Jews and Arabs alike. The situation in Palestine is still tense.

What has the Arab League done to face these events? A session of the League which took place in November and December of last year was devoted entirely to the Palestine problem. The League Council, however, was working at what was obviously reduced speed. Meetings to study the Palestine problem began October 31 but it was only in December that the council adopted the decision opposing the setting up of the British-American committee and announced the desire of all Arab peoples to see Palestine independent.

In the short period of its existence therefore the Arab League's activities have not yet produced any positive results from the standpoint of protecting the interests of the Arab countries. The intense political situation that is developing in the Arab East will undoubtedly in the near future show to what extent the League will be able to justify the hopes of those who want to see in it the protagonist of the unity and independence of the Arab countries.

●

## Anthem for UNO

(*To the tune of "America"*)

United Nations, we,
Although uneasily
  We so declare.
Long may our World remain
Bright Freedom's firm domain,
Except, perhaps, in Spain,
  Since Franco's there.

Our pact we will not flout,
Though some of us may doubt
  Its plans serene.
"Let peoples rule!" we shout,
Proclaim it all about,
Although we must leave out
  The Argentine.

We, great democracies,
We never will appease
  Despotic hands.
Nor ever will we seize
Lands o'er our boundaries,
Except when Javanese
  Dispute said lands.

We share our peaceful beds
With all, yes, even Reds
  (But not their views.)
May Mankind's harried heads
Partake that calm that sheds
From every soul its dreads
  (Except for Jews.)

OSCAR B. ROGERS.



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# BECAUSE I AM A JEW

**By ALBERT KAHN**

A FEW months ago, I met a friend whom I hadn't seen for a number of years, and we spent an evening discussing our present work. My friend was very surprised that I had become active in the Jewish community, although he himself was a Jew. He asked me this question, "Why aren't you satisfied with writing or working simply as an American, and as an anti-fascist writer? Why do you want to write and work as a Jew?"

My answer to him was, "Because I am a Jew."

That statement may seem very simple. And I think it is, in itself, an oversimplification. For a long time I didn't regard myself or think of myself as being a Jew. Not because I was ashamed of being a Jew, but simply because I was unconscious of the fact I was a Jew. I was brought up in England in an environment which confronted me with none of the problems of discrimination or prejudice. My family was not religious. When I came over here and went to Dartmouth College, I was asked to join a Gentile fraternity; and I joined. I later found out that the national charter declared that no Jews were allowed in the fraternity. An exception had been made in my case because I could run hurdles faster than anyone else at Dartmouth, and could also jump farther.

When I found out that Jews weren't allowed in that fraternity, I didn't get out. It didn't mean anything to me that other Jews weren't allowed to join, and that a special exception had been made in my case. I remained in that fraternity. It wasn't until after I got out of college, that is, it wasn't until my education began that I started to become conscious of the fact that I was a Jew.

What made me conscious? Partly, of course, it was Nazism. And partly the fact that I was involved in anti-fascist activities. I started to be active in the anti-fascist field before I was conscious of being a Jew, at the time of the war in Spain. But as my anti-fascist consciousness developed, at the same time I became increasingly conscious of the fact that I was a Jew.

Also, during this period, I became aware of the fact that my people, the Jewish people, faced a problem which confronted no other people: if the fascists had won this war, the Jews would have been exterminated. Other peoples could have existed, if only as slaves under the Nazis. But for the Jewish people this war was literally a question of extermination or existence. That was a very real difference: that meant, literally, that the lives of your children were at stake in the question of victory or defeat in this war. And so, like many other Jews, I became increasingly conscious of the fact that I was a Jew.

As I became increasingly conscious of being a Jew, I also became increasingly proud of the fact, and increasingly desirous of learning about my people, about their traditions and their culture, and of assuming a role in the Jewish community. I must say that for me it has been an extraordinarily rich experience. I would say it has been one of the richest experiences in my life.

Becoming aware of the fact I was a Jew, and becoming active with Jewish people, and particularly with Jewish workers, has been, for me, like coming home. The only experience of comparable richness I have had was when I got active in the struggle to aid the Loyalists in Spain, and, at that time, traveling across the country raising funds for medical supplies for the Loyalists. The reception that my wife and I had from the people, the working people into whose homes we went, and with whom we stayed, was for us the most enlightening experience we had had in our lives up until that time. We learned who were the real people in this country.

I WANT to say a word about the significance, as I see it, of the Jewish History Week which NEW MASSES is projecting. I have a copy here of the editorial which appeared in NEW MASSES in connection with Jewish History Week. It is described as a week which would be utilized to disseminate knowledge and understanding of the role and achievements of the Jewish people, through programs in the schools, churches, trade unions, and other organizations; through public exhibits at libraries, etc. Now I have one disagreement with this particular editorial. I feel that it emphasizes too much the negative aspects of the purposes of this Week. The editorial explains the purpose of the Jewish History Week in these terms: "This is not a question of acquiring academic knowledge, or even of doing justice to a minority group, it is rather a question of expanding the arsenal against anti-Semitism and fascism."

The Jewish History Week is being pictured here as a project which will contribute to the fight against fascism and anti-Semitism. With that I agree absolutely. However, I think that is only half of the importance of a Jewish History Week. There is another importance, which I think is just as great, The Jewish History Week which the NEW MASSES is proposing has a tremendously constructive significance in itself, aside from the fact that it is to be used in the fight against anti-Semitism. I believe that the culture of the Jewish people is something with which the American people as a whole should become far better acquainted. I believe that Jewish culture has a great contribution to make to American culture, a contribution which yet is only partly realized. I believe that contribution is to be made not only in the English language, but also in the Yiddish language.

Until recently I couldn't speak a word of Yiddish. But I'm learning Yiddish now. Why? Because Yiddish is an integral part of the Jewish culture. I want to know about the Jewish culture; I want to be enriched by it. The better a Jew I become, the better an American I become, and the better an anti-fascist writer I become.

I think perhaps the best example of the importance of the development of Jewish culture, not only as a weapon against fascism, but as a most constructive force in itself, is in the Soviet Union. Jewish culture has not been developed to the point it has in the Soviet Union merely for the purpose of using it as a weapon against fascism. In the Soviet Union it has been found that the more democracy there is in the treatment of national minorities, the more opportunity there is for the people to develop their own cultures. That's why in the Soviet Union today not only is anti-Semitism a crime, but you have in the Soviet Union the best Yiddish theater in the world, you have more Yiddish books, magazines and newspapers published than in the rest of the world put together. You have Jewish culture reaching a height in the Soviet Union that is equalled nowhere else today in any other country.

I see this Jewish History Week as an integral part of the struggle of the



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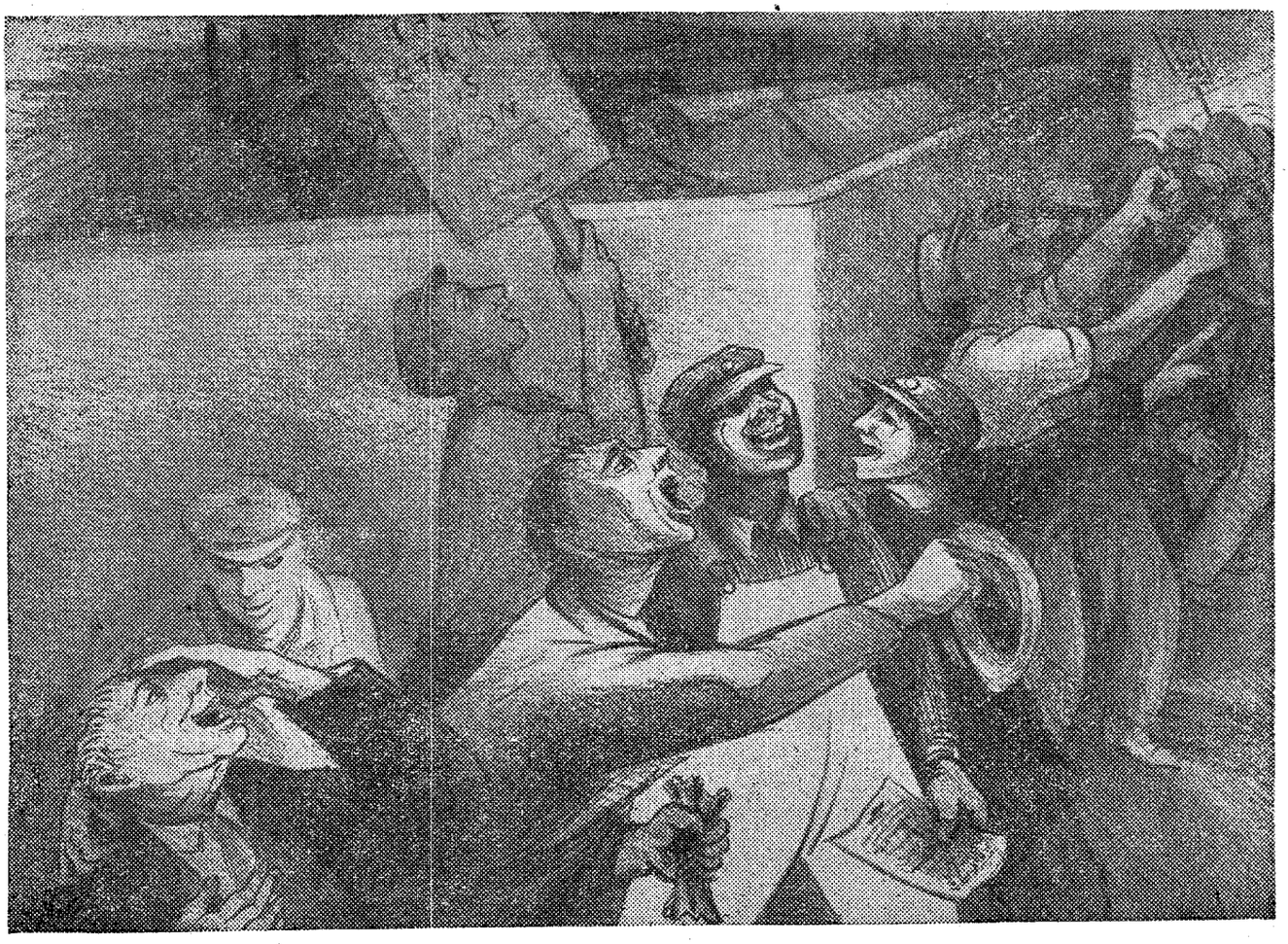

**Lithograph by Harry Gottlieb.**

Jewish people for their very existence today. In the last few years, one-third of all the Jewish people in the world have been wiped out—six million Jews have been murdered. This is a fact of which we must be constantly aware. We have to see the struggle for the cultural development of the Jewish people as a part of its struggle for existence, just as the struggle we are carrying on against anti-Semitism is quite literally a struggle for our very lives.

NAZISM is not a disease which existed only in Europe. We have it today in the United States. In my opinion, anti-Semitism in the United States is today at a peak. This is the only country in the world where the fifth column has not been damaged as a result of the war, but has remained intact. I don't want to talk at any length about the fifth column, but I would like to say this: I have specialized for the last seven years in investigating and writing about fifth column activities in the United States, and I believe that today these activities are going on with greater intensification in many respects than they were before the war, and certainly during the war. The only difference is this: before the war and during the war, anti-Semitic and fascist activities in the United States were directed chiefly by Axis agents, operating for the most part under the supervision of the Nazi Military Intelligence. The change that has taken place is that today they are under the supervision and direction of certain native fascists, of certain native industrialists and financiers. That development in my opinion makes them all the more dangerous.

Finally, I want to say this about Jewish History Week. The Jewish people have a vast amount of which to be proud. It is a great and splendid thing to be a Jew. The Jewish people should know more about their heritage. Because with that knowledge, I believe, the Jewish people can contribute more and more to democratic developments in the United States, and can play a more and more fruitful role in the life of the country, culturally, politically, and in every other respect. We have had a marvelous history and tradition, a heritage of struggle and heroism. We are not an arrogant people, but we have a great deal to be proud of; we're proud of our prophets and of our poets, proud of our writers and our scientists, proud of our workers and our soldiers. From the time of the Maccabeans to the time of the struggle in the Warsaw Ghetto, the Jews have made vital contributions to the most important democratic struggles and achievements in the world.

For all of these reasons I think that the idea NEW MASSES is projecting is one of the most exciting and important ideas that has been proposed in a long time among the Jewish people in this country.

*This article is abridged from a speech Mr. Kahn made at a recent meeting of a group of friends of* NEW MASSES *called to discuss its proposal for an annual Jewish History Week. Mr. Kahn is president of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and is co-author with Michael Sayers of "Sabotage," "The Plot Against the Peace" and the recently published "The Great Conspiracy."*



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# HOW NOT TO DENAZIFY

**By HANS BERGER**

TO "TEACH the Germans democracy" the military government in the American zone ordered elections held on January 27 in communities with less than 20,000 population. Many protests were heard against this order. The Communists, Social Democrats and Democrats, as well as many other democratic individuals, among them Catholics, spoke up against the elections at this time and under the given conditions. The military government, however, ignored the protests.

The results of these elections in Bavaria were as follows: the Christian Social Union got 833,547 votes, splinter parties and independents 66,516, Social Democrats 318,718, Communists 46,333, Liberal Democrats 20,532. With a note of triumph a large part of the American press announced that the "conservative forces" were victorious. Everybody in Germany, including the military government, knew in advance, of course, what the outcome of these elections would be. And this was apparently the reason the American military government ordered the elections at this time.

The dice were loaded against the democratic forces. Only one day before the elections were political parties granted the right to publish their own newspapers. Only a very short time before the elections were party political activities permitted. Under such circumstances the organization of an effective election propaganda in hundreds of small communities was a very complicated and almost impossible task for the democratic forces. Add to this the fact that most of the real anti-fascist forces have been destroyed under Hitler while the Bavarian clerico-fascists (appearing under the new name "Christian Social Union") have kept their personnel intact, operating in the smaller localities and in the Catholic Church, and it is easy to see why the reactionaries won. For the same reasons the Christian Social Union, the camouflaged Bavarian People's Party—ally and sponsor of Nazism since 1920—could gather Nazis and Nazi sympathizers and use the election to continue poisoning the minds of Bavaria's politically backward peasants and middle class.

American correspondents have already reported the methods used by the "conservative forces" in their campaign of "enlightenment." From many private reports it is also obvious to me that this election campaign in the Bavarian villages *was the first great organized postwar offensive of German reaction permitted and encouraged by the American military government.* A few examples will give a picture of what kind of "school for democracy" the American military government organized with these elections.

The Bavarian reactionaries "explained" to the peasants that the confiscation and distribution of the land of the Junkers in the Soviet zone would mean that the Communists and the Russians wanted to take away the land from the peasants; that the Communists and Social Democrats wanted to "destroy the Christian family"; that "the dark money powers"—a camouflage, of course, for Jews: the Nazis always talked about dark money powers—were the main danger for Germany. To this propaganda in the style of the Nazis was added the special brand of the Bavarian clerico-fascists.

THE Bavarian separatists and monarchists—the Bavarian Monarchist Party was permitted by the American authorities to reconstitute itself—had an open field during the election preliminaries. They campaigned for the establishment of a Bavarian monarchy which should be "responsible only to God"; and "against Prussia, now dominated by Socialists, Communists and Bolsheviks." Heavy fire was directed especially against the democratic demand for the separation of church and state. The Bavarian Catholic Church demanded full control over education. At a time when even MacArthur in Japan has ordered the separation of church and state the Bavarian cardinal, bishops and clerico-fascists of the former Bavarian People's Party used the elections for the wildest religious demagogy. Meanwhile there remains no greater need in Germany than the creation of a democratic educational system which would make it impossible for the schools to be used again to teach the ideas of German imperialism, particularly under the traditional religious mask.

This kind of campaigning had the desired results. The German reactionaries won in these elections and reaction in the whole of Germany was encouraged. A Bavarian Communist said after the elections: "Now we have learned that even today under the military government of a democratic power it is possible to organize an open reactionary campaign."

It may be asked: were the American authorities blind, politically stupid? To a certain extent they may have been blind; to a certain extent they may have acted according to the mechanical formula: Elections are democratic—let us therefore call elections in order to democratize Germany. But there is more to this. *The holding of these elections in the more backward areas and under the given conditions was a conscious attempt of certain reactionary circles in the American military government to help the Bavarian reactionaries.*

In some circles these elections were labelled "Revenge for Patton." The Bavarian clerico-fascists—around whom the Nazis gather—under the leadership of Cardinal Faulhaber, an old hater of democracy, had suffered a defeat when their government under the leadership of the infamous Schaefer, appointed by the late General Patton, was forced to resign, and a new government under the leadership of the Social Democrat Hoegner was formed.

The elections in these rural communities demonstrate, therefore, the power of Bavarian reaction and are the means to bring about the downfall of the present government. Bavarian reaction has international support, particularly from the Vatican, French adventurers and kingmakers, British and American reactionary forces—all of them eager to make sure that Bavaria continues to be what it has been since 1920, a *place d'armes* for German reaction, German fascism, and the center of anti-Bolshevist intrigue. There are also many links between the Bavarian reactionaries and the clerico-fascists and Nazis in Salzburg, Tyrol and other parts of Austria. Bavaria is today a hotbed not only of German reaction, but also of international plots, and the Vatican knows more about this than anybody else.

One can undertake to do many things under the banner of democracy. One can organize elections *after* reaction has been uprooted, *after* the



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democratic forces have been brought into a position where they can enlighten the politically backward masses by deeds and by mass education. One can, however, also organize elections in order to play into the hands of reactionaries, to demonstrate their strength and influence, to legalize and freeze their power by preventing the destruction of reactionary forces and institutions by leaving untouched the social basis of their power and by hampering the work of the real anti-fascists and democrats. With such a policy the reactionaries were able to gain certain successes in Austria and Hungary, and now in Bavaria. One may call it democracy, *but in reality it is nothing but the use of democratic forms for reactionary purposes, a trick at which the Nazis were masters*. It is quite clear that those Americans who were supposed to be teaching the Bavarians genuine democracy need a course in democracy themselves.

## Culture and Marxism

(*Continued from page 9*)

of the new world. They know that their place is with us, in this Party which is rich with the sap and blood it derives from the depths of the French people.

Intellectual comrades, we must gather about us all these new energies in the great workshop where French culture is being revived. We cannot afford to keep on with our little humdrum routine that grants the Party two evenings a week for tasks unrelated to our proper calling. Let us place in the center of our life, particularly of our intellectual life, this great Party which makes men over. Our Party would have no connection with us, and would remain foreign to us were it not capable of making our lives over, of making them broader, of giving them another style: the style of grandeur. Our Party turns our attention to national problems. Let us shun individualism, estheticism, the aloofness of so many uprooted and decadent intellectuals. Let us not fear, as they do, the passionate strivings of a people that wants to renew itself and that still loves the future. Let us never forget the message of our great ancestors, the Rationalists and Materialists of the Eighteenth Century, in whose name Helvetius tells us, on the eve of the Revolution of 1789: "Only great passions make great men."

Only by so comporting ourselves shall we work in a way worthy of French glory, worthy of the national responsibilities of our Party.

## Marse Linkum

By JOHN SANFORD

Tell fewer of the funny stories I told,
And make no further mention of my plug hat,
My rolled umbrella, and my out-size shoes;
Bury the legend that I was a bastard deep,
Let my mother's sleep be that of the just,
And if you must be heard, speak briefly
Of my wife Mary and my wife's madness,
But speak not a word of my spoken-for Ann,
Nor say that I loved her all my life.

Forget my arms and legs, my awkward ways,
And the guffaws I caused when I sat a horse;
Forget the cat-napping pickets I pardoned,
Forget my Four-score speech, my Bixby letter,
And my six-mile walk to refund six cents;
Forget the first house I lived in (let it rot
And let all the others, but not the last),
And build me no more memorials, nor cast me
But as pennies for children and odd change.

Say not that I saw two faces in my glass,
One like my own and one strange, as if bled,
And dismiss my dreams of a terrible end
Such as many now dust dreamed of and found
On the Sunken Road before Fredericksburg;
Make little of my anger at little McClellan
(Outnumbered! With three blues for every grey!),
And less of the lie that the slaves went free,
Because you know better, and so do they.

Say naught of my high voice and my sad eyes,
Throw away my relics (the watch and key,
The muffler, the ox-yoke, and the rock
On which I scratched my name and Ann's),
And retain but a pair of my photographs,
A Brady for the hard evidence of my looks
And a Gardner for the books of learned fools;
And now that only my coat can be pilfered,
Stop moving my coffin from place to place
And let the ghouls unfrock these bones.

Such are the small favors that I request,
But if it please you not, grant me none:
Get my old chestnuts off your chest
Should they still strike you funny;
And if you like, praise me as Honest Abe
And raise a log-cabin Christ with nails;
Re-engrave this grave and homely face
On your cash, preserve the box at Ford's,
And make cold fact of the cool fiction
That my father's name was In- or Enlow;
Wring more tears from women on the floor
For bounty-jumpers and last-remaining sons,
And count the ones that kissed my hand;
And if your tongues are slung in the middle,
Then keep Ann and my love for Ann green
While you hail the hell I had with Mary.

Small favors, and done without with ease,
For I doubt there's much I much require
To lie decently dead save your living long,
And you will so live, and I will so lie,
If you know the truth: it was you, not I,
That Booth was hired to kill; it was you,
The Union, that he fired at in firing at me;
And since I died of what went wide of you,
Please remember all I stood for when I fell.



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# NM SPOTLIGHT

## Manchuria

IN ESTIMATING Manchurian developments it is well to remember that it was the first object of fascist Japan's aggressive drive in 1931. The Mikado's warmongers needed it: (a) because it was the richest industrial area in the Far East and therefore the logical base for further military aggression; and (b) because of its strategic location pointing at the heart of the Soviet Siberia. Neither the United States nor Britain at that time took effective action to block Japan's invasion. On the contrary, both adopted policies of appeasement which encouraged and gave military aid to the Japanese armies.

Today American ships are transporting American-equipped Kuomintang troops into Manchuria. Both the American and Chungking governments are thereby violating the unity agreements so recently signed at the Chinese capital. Newspapers under the influence of both governments as well as high officials in their employ are attempting to use the Manchurian situation to vilify the Soviet Union.

One does not have to rely upon special information to realize what this is all about. American imperialists in alliance with Chinese reactionaries want to seize Manchurian industry and control this vital military area. As they have already done in Indonesia, Indo-China and North China, they will use their former Japanese enemies, this time by seeking to transfer Manchurian industries from the *zaibatsu* to the nominal ownership of Chinese puppets and to American corporations. Against whom is such a scheme directed? Against the Manchurian patriots who throughout the war resisted the Japanese, against the Chinese Communists who demand fulfillment of the Chungking unity agreements, and against the Soviet Union.

The answer to this new act of aggression on the part of American imperialism and Chinese feudalism lies partly in the field of Chinese domestic politics and partly in international relations. The Chinese Communists have demanded the organization of a government in Manchuria in which all anti-Japanese democratic forces in these provinces will be recognized and jointly aided by the Kuomintang, the Communists and other groups—in other words, by a genuine coalition. To this end American democrats should renew their demand for an immediate abandonment of the Truman administration's arrogant unilateral policies in the Far East in favor of a coalition policy jointly arrived at and jointly carried out by the leaders of the United Nations, including of course the Soviet Union.

## Vatican Inventory

THE Pope in the ceremonies elevating Catholic churchmen to princedom used two words repeatedly. They were "supernational" and "universal." The words have little to do with religion and everything to do with politics. They strongly imply that the Vatican is embarking on a world policy of strengthening its position, particularly in areas where its political influence has waned. And it still attempts to perpetuate the myth that it is above politics, even when it is thoroughly steeped in them. Last week's events in Rome can only be interpreted as the Vatican's efforts to reconvert its work to postwar needs, especially in the Western Hemisphere.

Vatican policy has not changed in any way and it will continue its reactionary course under the well-known camouflage of anti-Communism. It will attempt to thwart the nationalization programs in Eastern Europe while at the same time giving aid and comfort to such reactionary groups as the *Volkspartei* of Austria. In Italy, the Vatican was instrumental in overthrowing the Parri government because of its purging of fascists. Recently the Pope blessed Spain's Franco and endorsed his fascist regime. The Vatican has been active in France through the Popular Republican Movement, which serves as a catch-all for anything from clerical-fascists to defenders of the trusts. And in this hemisphere it has supported Peron in Argentina. In a broadcast last October the Pope praised Peron while Cardinal Copello sent a pastoral letter endorsing Peron's election. The letter in part said that Peron's dictatorship was the best form of government because "Jesus Christ himself was a great dictator."

## Undermining Tammany

NEXT in importance to winning the current strike drive for higher purchasing power is the pressing task of preparing for the November Congressional elections. All the wage gains now being won may be undermined and negated through the legislative action of a reactionary Congress. In this respect New York's by-election contest in the 19th Congressional District was a heartening and significant event. The American Labor Party candidate Johannes Steel lost by less than 4,000 votes to the Tammany Democrat nominee. The Democratic vote declined from fifty-five percent to forty-nine percent while the ALP vote rose from eighteen percent to thirty-eight percent of the total. This impressive and significant gain of the labor-progressive coalition, foreshadowing its victory in November, can be explained primarily by the content and the substance of the campaign. Mr. Steel ran on the original Roosevelt program calling for increased purchasing power for the workers, full support of all Roosevelt-sponsored progressive legislation and for the policy of enduring peace based on cooperation of the Big Three. He called for a militant struggle against all enemies of this program and especially against the spokesmen and representatives of trusts, corporations and monopolies. Nor did he spare criticism of the Truman administration wherever it departed from the Roosevelt program. Another significant feature of the Steel campaign was the initiative and the leading role of organized labor, especially the CIO, PAC and some AFL unions, in alliance with all progressive forces, including Rep. Vito Marcantonio,



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**News item: "Paul Porter, new price administrator, declared he would grant price increases where manufacturers are 'hardship cases.'"**

former Mayor LaGuardia and Henry Wallace.

There is no doubt that the energies and the enthusiasm as well as new political wisdom released by the strike wave added much to the near-victory in New York. In all other industrial communities the splendid solidarity displayed in the recent months between strikers and the public at large provides an excellent basis for a broader labor-progressive coalition in the coming November elections.

## Equal Citizenship

WE EMPHATICALLY support the demand being made by many democratic forces of New York City for the appointment of a Negro to fill the vacancy in the city's Board of Education. For twenty-five years there has not been a Negro on this vital educational body. The failure on the part of successive mayors to make such an appointment reflects the bigotry with which the problems of this great minority have been faced.

Speaking at the New York City Center Auditorium in celebration of Negro History Week Councilman Benjamin J. Davis recently said: "I want to see our school system in New York City eliminate every anti-Negro, every anti-Semitic, every anti-American textbook, and substitute the real truth." He then called upon Mayor O'Dwyer to appoint a Negro to the Board of Education, noting on behalf of his people that "we have not got just one, but plenty of qualified Negroes who could handle this position."

This is, of course, but one of the demands that must be made regarding the attainment of equal citizenship for the Negro people of New York. Until our educational system, including the private colleges and universities, most of which today do not employ a single Negro professor, is purged of this outrageous bias democratic citizens must campaign unceasingly on this issue.

## White Collars Convene

THE notorious squeeze which monoply capital exerts upon the middle classes finds no relaxation in the rich USA, where the majority of office workers slave away at twenty dollars a week. Sixty thousand white collar workers are now organized into the United Office and Professional Workers-CIO, which is now in convention in Cleveland, doing something about the scandalous state of the salaried employe who got little enough of the war period overtime and has long since lost that. The convention, meeting much earlier than usual to cope with the rapid drop in post-war income, hammered out a campaign to establish a thirty-dollar-a-week general minimum and corresponding minimums for higher classifications; authorized its insurance division to strike if necessary to win a ten-dollar-a-week increase; approved demands for a $200 monthly minimum for social service professionals in the course of mapping a general program for the protection of white-collar standards. As we go to press, the convention expected to approve the affiliation of the Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians-CIO (FAECT), which petitioned for such a union.

In contrast to all the ballyhoo of the bought press that labor leaders are more concerned with their salaries than with their union membership, President Lewis Merrill asked for, and got, a reduction in his own pay to bring it more in line with what has happened to those whom he was elected to represent.

President Merrill also posed a question which trade unions and honest citizens ought to concern themselves with more and more in the light of the outrageously anti-democratic campaigns GM, steel, the meatpackers and their tight circle of monopolist friends have waged against the citizens of the US. If the big insurance and finance companies keep trying to break unions, said Mr. Merrill, "perhaps the time has come to raise the demand to nationalize these companies."



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# READERS' FORUM

## "Liberation"

*Conception, n. Act of becoming pregnant; state of being conceived; hence, beginning.*
*—Webster's Dictionary.*

TO NEW MASSES: Criminal Case No. 45, filed in the Court of First Instance in the Philippine Islands, records that the former mayor, Dominador Santos, and Salvador Enriquez, without a permit, led ". . . thousands of people . . . in public parade with placards . . . thereby causing a serious disturbance in said town which required the intervention of the armed forces, including tank destroyers of the US Army."

The name of the town is Concepcion.

The authority for the use of American troops in purely Filipino affairs comes from General Douglas MacArthur's directive which states in effect American Military Police can intervene when local authorities request aid to maintain "law and order."

The date when American troops dispersed the "public parade with placards" was July 22, 1945. The date of the "criminal" charge is Aug. 21, 1945. During that time the former mayor was held in jail with two broken ribs, contributed by the American MP's.

A provincial town on the plains of Luzon, Concepcion is about eighty miles from Manila and has over 25,000 people. For more than three years no Japanese or puppet official dared put his foot in town. The guerrilla army of Filipino workers and peasants —the Hukbalahaps—had liberated the town and fields from the Japanese; they had administered civil and military affairs while puppet officials in Manila demanded "law and order" through the Japanese press.

When the 1st Cavalry and 37th Division swept down Highway No. 3 into Manila during February there was no opposition from the Japanese in the Huk areas. San Fernando was liberated intact in a joint parade with American and Huk army formations. Concepcion too was a clear road for our forces.

But on May 25, 1945 a task force of American Military Police pulled into town, and with the help of a former Japanese spy, Sol Dalusong, they "liberated" Concepcion from its citizens!

So with the firm support of American troops and tank destroyers, landlord and collaborationist puppets are in office today, something the Japanese found impossible to accomplish.

Concepcion is now a model provincial town of "law and order." One ordinance states that the "assembly of more than two persons is subversive." Another ordinance makes it unlawful to "have a stranger in one's house." (Ord. No. 6 requires that "each householder make prompt report to the mayor . . . of the name, residence, and description of any person not a resident of [this] township who may enter the house or receiver shelter or accommodation therein.")

A permit must be obtained for a public meeting, which Ord. No. 1 defines as: "Any meeting held in a public place, or in a place within public view, or within a building to which the public generally has access."

Before the war Concepcion had a police force of fourteen men. Today it has twenty-eight cops, plus thirty Filipino and twenty American soldiers with tank destroyers. Pay for the police is twice that elsewhere, with the landlord's private vigilante organization making up the difference.

The puppet council recently sent a petition to the Secretary of Interior and Defense, a big sugar planter and landlord, asking that Concepcion be placed "off limits for irregular guerrillas." An "irregular guerrilla" is one who killed a Japanese. While I was in Manila from February to June 1945, the press quoted a collaborationist—free and in his comfortable Manila home—that "all guerrillas should go back to the mountains where they came from."

The puppet council passed a resolution "of gratification" to a Lieutenant Ramsden of the US Army in charge of an MP unit which was stationed in Concepcion for his work in "rounding up subversive elements" in the areas.

This is not the first time American troops have been used in "pacification work" on the Filipinos. I saw a mass demonstration of thousands of people in San Fernando just a few weeks after MacArthur had thrown into jail the two leaders of the Hukbalahaps (now released; others are still locked up). None of the Filipino men were armed. Thousands of women and children milled about in the streets of town and flocked to the Church square to hear their speakers demand the release of Taruc and Alejandro.

Five medium tanks stood by, motors idling, guns loaded, just waiting for those "Communist bastards to start something." For that is the way it was explained to us: "the Communists and their secret army want to take over authority from Osmena."

Just one provocative move by a puppet-stooge, and the American public would read: "Communist demonstration broken up. Hundreds killed in San Fernando."

In this case, nothing happened. The Huks made their speeches and went home. The GI's shut off their tank-motors and buttoned up their guns, then went into town and bought some ice cream from the very same people whom they were going to "give a snow job and mow 'em down."

The name of the town is Concepcion, or San Fernando, or Tarlac, or Mololos, or Manila.

Berkeley, Cal. GEORGE KAUFFMAN.

## I Am a Hybrid

*The following letter was sent to a friend of* NEW MASSES.

DEAR FRIEND WILL: The other night while sipping a glass of beer and some watered Scotch in a badly overcrowded tavern we spoke of "the modern degeneration" and the current electrical storm in the labor arena.

You spoke with convincing fervor of the need for all hands to come forward, to offer some sign or token of their interest in the coming climacteric, to get into the fight for human betterment without waiting for the millennium, for time was the essence.

Somehow your simple confidence in the essential goodness of man and his mission in life to be far above that of a burro or chattel communicated itself to me in my lethargy. It is true, you admitted, my leanings were good but my direction was uncertain; still, I might help in the fight for decency and fair play if I really wanted to be in the fray. I agreed to try.

First of all, as you know my position as a small businessman and worker places me in an enigmatic spot: an unhappy hybrid of employer and worker, not an uncommon plight for many middle class people today; and my allegiance to the little guy is manifested by my keen desire to help the breadwinner get something more out of life than mere subsistence. Accordingly I canvassed some of my daily contacts, business contacts and friends as to their sentiments in the great struggle between the trusts and the unions.

Yesterday more than 1,600,000 people were idle and were on the march to raise standards of living. Business was almost at a standstill. The whole country seethed with conflicting emotions; varied reactions to the merits of both sides. I hoped to get a slant on the thoughts of some of the members of my class. I present a few thoughts:

My barber was eager to tell his beliefs. He blurted, "In Stamford, business shut down in sympathy with the union, and if we see the big boys win, the days of apple-picking will return." "We can't let the little fellows down. . . ." (This guy fought the CIO for six months before he melted.)

I stopped at my gas station. The owner was violently anti-union and affirmed: "If those damned radicals get control, we might as well get a gun."

My next stop was the local diner near my



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place of business. The chef, the owner of the eatery, expressed himself as follows: "I worked for Bethlehem when the union was a social club, I know what it means to be a dog, and believe me, if US Steel wins it will be finis for all of us."

Another friend, a successful toy manufacturer, was hesitant at first, fearful of my motives, but he said simply, "Before the union my business was a madhouse, unstabilized and unprofitable, and I'm rooting for the boys to win."

The neighborhood confectioner offered little information. His dead eyes, after eighteen hours on his feet, seemed unable to understand what all the talk of strikes and industrial upheaval was about. He only moved when the cash register sang its familiar song.

The printer summed up for all of them. He declared: "Big business is striking against the government, insulting the President and denying the people the way to live as Americans should, preventing democracy from being anything but a hollow word."

And I close with the belief that if we are to go on, all of us, free from want and fear, striving for better living conditions for our families, we will have to familiarize ourselves with the problems and struggles of labor in order to prevent a costly and bloody recurrence of fascist Germany. . . . Yes, we have a stake!

HERM.

## Some Nautical History

TO NEW MASSES: Howard Fast's article, "The Gray Ship's Captain" (NM, January 29), is beautifully written. None the less, he repeats some common mistakes of fact regarding shipping that I feel should be mentioned. He writes, "the captain's task is to take the ship from port to port. . . . His pride is the pride of navigation; so it has been from the time the first ancient galley pushed away from the sight of land. . . . The captain . . . is the master, which makes him responsible for the ship, its passage, and its fate. . . . The captain bears the care of illness and injury." Ashore, Engels' *Origin of the Family* has shown that our social structure has not existed from time immemorial but has evolved out of economic factors. Further, it is not static; it continues to change. Exactly the same development has occurred in sea-borne communities. The small boats of 1,000 years ago operated communally just like their villages ashore. The "Code of Oberon," earliest British sea law, requires a vote by all aboard before reaching a decision in time of peril.

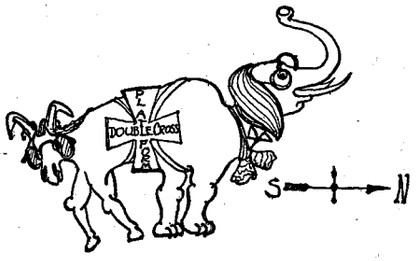
As ships grew in size, they became too expansive for communal operation in the truly ancient way. At the same time, the king's authority gradually overwhelmed the noblemen. The present-day ship's master and his community are a complete reflection of England's social structure 300 years ago, the master's powers being a faithful miniature of the king's. Our present merchant marine laws are in large measure unchanged from those days; our Constitution and Declaration of Independence did not affect the sea at all.

Society ashore continued to change while remaining frozen at sea because ships were completely lost when they moved out of sight of land. Today there are no longer any technological reasons for freezing men on ships into a 300-year-old mold. However, naval men and big shipping companies like the old set-ups for the privileges it affords them and for the restrictions it puts on unions. They naturally maintain the fiction that the existing ship's social structure dates from time immemorial and is indispensable.

The poll-taxers' filibusters in the Senate show that the failure really to free the South menaces the entire nation's freedom. In the same way forcing sea-going workers into an underprivileged group ultimately menaces all American workers.

SAMUEL SCHIFFER.

New York.




TO NEW MASSES: The ELEPHKNOD spelled backwards = DONKHPELE.

Either way it's a hybrid beast, stalled in its tracks. The donkey of Solid South pseudo-democracy, with nose sniffling the wind, dank with slave philosophy; the elephant, its trunk sampling the upper currents of haughty reaction; this mongrel monstrosity has taken over our nation's capitol to fill its chambers with brayings and pumpetings of nauseous effrontery, for all the world to hear.

ROBERT A. PERKINS.

## Socialism for Britain

TO NEW MASSES: I have something on my mind: socialism, Britain and the Labor Party. My friends and I have been reading together Lenin's *Imperialism*. We were very much impressed with Lenin's remarks in Chapter VIII on the upper stratum of the proletariat, the labor aristocracy. To our minds this suits the British Labor Party perfectly. However, our problem is this. Granted that the Labor Party is an imperialist-labor party, which from a Marxist point of view is a fantastic contradiction. We can see why the Labor Party keeps the Empire together to keep up trade and a relatively high standard of living for the British worker, but at the expense of the Indian and South African worker. What we cannot see so clearly is the Labor Party's alternative. What else can it do? Perhaps it feels that a free India and South Africa would mean a loss of markets for British trade and thus a loss of work for British labor. If the British economy will collapse without preferential Empire trade, for the benefit of British labor the Empire must be preserved.

Not being an economist, this argument confuses me. The extension of it is more complex. From a Marxist point of view, if the British Communist Party sought to organize a socialist economy in Britain, what would be its basis? India and South Africa would be free and thus the old trade with them would stop. How would a socialist economy exist? As I understand it, British farming is unimportant; British raw materials consist of coal and iron, and not too much of that. If this is all there is on which to build a socialist economy, surely the economy would fail to care for the 45,000,000 people of the British Isles. The capitalists would quickly subdue any such socialist country. Assumed in such an argument as this is the fact that a socialist economy can exist in a country encircled by capitalist countries only if that country has many raw materials and a large farm industry. This is true of the Soviet Union. It would be true of the United States.

The solution to this complicated problem is not easy. Perhaps an article by the brilliant R. Palme Dutt on this question would be helpful.

A NEOPHYTE.

## Trouble

TO NEW MASSES: This should be a statement of the times: The trouble with private industry is, it's too damned private.

ELI SIEGEL.

New York.

## Ancestor

*Several inquiries have come to* NEW MASSES *about the resemblance of a painting in Minna Citron's recent show entitled "Dear John," to the portrait by Vuillard of Lugne Poe. Mrs. Citron explains the resemblance in the following letter to readers of "Art Digest," which also published a black and white of the painting.*

"DEAR SIR: It is perfectly obvious that the design of "Dear John" was inspired by Vuillard's "Portrait of Lugne Poe" but (a fact which the black and white reproduction wholly failed even to suggest) my treatment and handling, including the Japanese quality which Mrs. Reed noticed, were entirely individual, arising directly from my specific personal associations to the thought of a girl writing to her boy friend in the Pacific.

MINNA CITRON.

New York.

●

Note: The caption under the drawing "Profile of a Young Woman," by Maurice Becker, which appeared in last week's NM (February 26) should have included the information that it was part of an exhibition of sixty-five works in oil, water-color and black and white recently concluded at the Berkshire Museum in Pittsfield, Mass.



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# MONOPOLY IN BOOK PUBLISHING

**By ISIDOR SCHNEIDER**

DURING a visit, many years ago, my host pointed to a book case filled with sets of Dickens, Thackeray, Bulwer Lytton and other of the old "fat" novelists. With an air of "there were giants in those days," he asked, "What's the matter with you moderns? Haven't you got as much to say? Or haven't you got the staying power?"

At that time I had no answer. *Gone With the Wind* and other followers of that modern monster, *Anthony Adverse*, had not yet appeared to prove that, given the economic incentive of a new literary fashion, contemporaries can outbulk their ancestors. I was to come upon my answer later, in Marxist-directed reading.

In those days, reading into the history of the book-publishing industry, I learned that the old "fat" novelists had fattened on serial publication in magazines. Following magazine appearance their books were published in three-volume editions for "gentlemen's libraries." And this went on to about the turn of the century when the popular lending library, along with other mass circulation innovations, put an end to it. The new book audience reached through the lending libraries, turned away from the three-volume novel to the more conveniently rentable one-volume novel. In a matter of three or four years the number of three-volume novels dropped from a total of several hundred annually to a handful, to virtually disappear in our generation.

Here we have a reality that esthete critics cannot bring themselves to acknowledge: that changes in literary form may be determined not by the experiment of a form-conscious artist but by a new technique in book distribution. The little English lending library, haunt of servant girls, had a considerable part in the difference in form between a Dickens and a Hemingway novel. A study would show that changes in psychological content and approach are also, largely, so determined.

A similar accompanying and even more decisive influence on literature was the development of the display advertisement. Up to its appearance magazines had depended for their support on a subscription audience able to impose a consumer taste control by their payment of a comparatively high price for their reading. It was an audience rather similar to the book-buying audience.

With the development of the display advertisement, in itself a development of the new mass production industries, magazine publishers found it profitable to abandon their former audiences and to print mass circulation magazines, cut to the taste and interests of those who paid the bills—the advertisers. Their mass circulation was a *bribed* circulation, for the periodical was sold at a fraction of the publication cost. While the older types of magazine had been addressed, to some extent, to the *literary taste* of their readers, the new advertising-subsidized magazine, were addressed to the passions or weaknesses of people, their desire for bargains, for the sensational, the tense, the erotic. Instead of comparatively studious reading the new type of magazine was given a random, careless reading. Where the older magazines had been saved and bound the new sort of magazines were cut up for their pictures, which became, more and more, their chief content; and they ended their very short lives in the trash can.

Since the writing was done for such careless, top-of-the-mind reading, serious writers, with few exceptions, could not, or would not, lower their work to this level. They turned to other livelihoods, making literature, where they had no private income, the product of marginal time. To counter the big magazine, the little magazine came into being, proud of its minimal audience and countering the standardized, oversimplified writing of the big magazines with over-individualized and obscure writing. Thus, even in this way and to a considerable extent, the experimental writing of our time was influenced by that most characteristic feature of modern mass production—the display advertisement.

Literature, in a serious sense, has shrunk in our time to book publication. Here consumer taste has continued to be a determining factor. I remember with what fury a certain book publisher I worked for commented on the fact that a comparatively difficult writer on his list had become a best-seller. How could he build a stable business, he wanted to know, when a book so beyond safe market prediction became a best seller? Toward the taste of the book buying public he had the same baffled and contemptuous acquiescences, that men sometimes feel for the "caprices" of pregnant women who must be indulged. To him *taste* was his Business Enemy Number One. It forced him to expand his business risks, to take chances on some thirty or forty books in order to come through with the five best and big sellers that sustained the concern. And he dreamed of the time when people would read by favorite trademarks instead of favorite authors, when books would become a "stable business."

That dream will probably never be fully realized. Authors will continue to be the basic producers and some will not be corrupted from their standards. And reader taste is indestructible, like the human individuality that it expresses.

A substantial fulfillment of the dream, however, is already being realized in the book industry. It is being realized mainly through the new distribution mechanism of the book clubs, though other factors, such as the twenty-five-cent paper book (as now being handled), prior movie options on books, and so on, are contributing to the same end. The new distribution mechanism, like the other technological changes referred to above, is drastically altering the balances of reader taste and editorial selection. It is turning the last comparatively free area of literature in America directly over to finance capital and its varied forms of domination. For the book clubs, by at last "stabilizing" the industry, have made it ready for absorption by finance capital.

Aside from behind-the-scenes, unpublicized new capitalization there has



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been an open buying into successful publishing houses. There have been mergers and distributor combinations involving publishers, reprint houses and book clubs. Even vertical trusts in the field already exist. Thus Doubleday, Doran not only operates its own printing plant and bindery but its own book store chain, and it owns three book clubs, including The Literary Guild, the largest in the field.

Such developments were predicted by opponents of the book clubs eighteen years ago when they first entered the industry. There were others, of course, who saw the "advancing" monopoly control in purely dynamic terms, as "progress." But now that the clubs are solidly established and are the pivotal points for the monopolization of the industry, the dangers are clear to everybody.

THESE dangers are twofold. One is the threat to cultural standards, which are rapidly being levelled down as has happened previously in the newspaper and magazine fields. The other is the threat to freedom of book publication, such as it has continued to be, from ruling class pressures. The very concentrations of book audiences made possible by the book clubs has made them readily accessible to such pressures.

The first menace operates in the following way. Presumably the famous "judges" who pick the book club selections are a guarantee that "good taste" will be preserved. But these judges are being increasingly chosen from among writers and critics who exhibit "market" sense. Thus the two new "judges" of the Book of the Month Club are the suave, best-selling novelist James P. Marquand and that arbiter of the fashionable in literature, Clifton P. Fadiman. Yet, even the character of the judges is not so decisive as another factor.

While good taste is the supposed appeal, the more effective *economically determining* appeal is the bargain. By dual selections, book dividends and other devices book clubs can offer their wares at prices below those possible in the open market. Little by little the factors of personal choice are being overcome. People can be persuaded to forego personal selection, when they feel they are getting three "good" books for the price of two. It is this bargain lure, more than anything else, that has brought book club membership to the stupendous total of some three million, three times the estimated total number of individual book buyers in the twenties.

It has been estimated that books average six readings per copy. Thus the three million book club subscribers represent some eighteen million readers. Such an enormous audience would not be permitted to escape controls.

These controls are not open. Book club owners probably do not give outright orders to judges. "Suggestions" or "advice" from capitalist associates are, perhaps, acted upon merely as "suggestions" and "advice." In the interplay of pressure groups—business bodies, the Catholic Church and other reactionary formations, on the one hand, and organized labor and progressive groups in general, on the other, it is obvious which will be heeded and which will be ignored. The new "judges" being chosen have another significant characteristic. Besides their market sense, they bring in cynical attitudes toward political thinking.

Perhaps the major and most continuous pressure, however, is that against "ideas" altogether. Thinking itself is increasingly being shunned, as "controversial," a development paralleling that of the film industry. The Literary Guild, with over a million members, has led this trend toward draining thinking out of books. It has virtually restricted itself, though it has not publicly announced such a policy, to fiction; and such fiction, of course, as depends, to a minimal extent, on any conflict of ideas.

The effects go further. Just as magazine publishers began to put advertisers first in their consciousness above their subscribers, so book publishers are putting book clubs, with their big outright payments and guarantee of automatic best sellerdom for the book selected, first in their consciousness above the general reader. Often the tieup is more than psychological. Book dividends, for example, are directly negotiated between the club's business department and the publishers. The honorable judges have no say.

Despite the "gentility" of the publishing industry, capitalist behavior remains its old odorous self. The Literary Guild became the largest in the field, according to report, by tricks worthy of the robber barons. Its owners, Doubleday, Doran & Co., are reported to have bought out a medical book publishing house. Using its paper allotment, the company is said to have expanded its book club, The Literary Guild, while its competitors were held back by the existing restrictions. The fact that much-needed medical textbooks were thereby kept out of print did not seem to press on anybody's conscience. Cultural standards and freedom can scarcely be considered secure in such an atmosphere.

The reader will ask "what can be done?" The long term and only satisfactory answer, of course, is socialism, the direction of culture by the people and not by their exploiters. But what to do in the meanwhile? There is not the remotest possibility of the book industry getting back to the pre-club days. Whether through book clubs or some other device the invasion of the book field by monopoly capital was inevitable. The only thing to be done is to make use of the same devices for progressive ends. Just as the chain of progressive bookstores maintains an outlet for progressive books that has encouraged a few publishers to take occasional risks, a progressive book club can concentrate an audience big enough to make publishers willing to take more such risks. The way has been shown by The Book Find Club, which already has enrolled a membership of over sixty thousand, and is becoming an influence in book publishing.

## A Breton Fights Back

MAN OF BRITTANY, *by Selwyn James. Simon & Schuster. $2.50.*

WHEN a good, fast-moving adventure story depends as much on character development as on shootings and chases, it is already one jump ahead of most of the books in its field. When, in addition, it is close enough to reality to point out that the underground resistance movements had organizational and personnel problems and that the Communists were active in solving them, a reviewer is tempted to do a little more cheering than the book perhaps deserves.

*Man of Brittany* deals with the early days of the occupation in the northwest corner of France—from the arrival of the Germans in June 1940 to the beginnings of organized resistance late in the following autumn. Louis Travadel was a Breton farmer with a good deal of common sense, some impetuosity, and any number of prejudices so crusty and provincial that they seem incredible in the twentieth century. Everyone not a Breton was a foreigner to him, and the whole village of St. Pons reserved its special dislike for the Corsican civil servants of the French Republic. Germans were just like any other foreigners, possibly better, because they locked up the Corsicans. Indeed, the village mayor counseled collaboration as a way of avoiding trouble.



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"Little Yellow Basket," oil by Razel Kapustin.

But when a German lieutenant made a few uncalled-for remarks about Travadel's daughter, Travadel threw the mayor's warning aside, strangled the lieutenant and escaped to the marshes. There he was joined by one of the most appealing urchins of recent fiction —the twelve-year-old son of St. Pons' one Communist, who made himself an ally in spite of Travadel's dislike of godless Reds. It was the "little Red" who found them a barn to sleep in and who silently knifed a member of a posse when noise would betray them. But it was Travadel who took to killing all the Germans who ventured near the marshes, until he became a legend that attracted the notice of the developing Communist Underground. Prejudiced, individualistic, undisciplined, Travadel had almost everything against him as an underground fighter, except that he *did* like to kill Germans and was becoming a name to conjure with, the only one in Brittany.

Gabriel Dony, the organizer sent to get in touch with Travadel, persuaded him to attend the Underground school in Vichy, where in a month they tried to teach potential leaders political understanding and methods of organization, along with the most economical means of blowing up trains and how to hijack arms from French Socialists that the British refused to drop to the Communists. By the time he returned, the people of St. Pons had become so fed up with the Germans and the collaborationist mayor that they had killed a few officers and freed the Corsicans on their own hook. The book ends with a good loud shooting raid by Travadel and the once-hated Corsicans to free his wife and daughter and the village hostages.

*Man of Brittany* comes under the head of books that are hard to put down. With no appearance of haste or clutter, the author has something happening every minute, either Travadel killing Germans or the mayor trying to make the village see his point of view or the German colonel struggling to keep things peaceful so the Gestapo won't get after him. At the same time, Mr. James always keeps the reader aware of the currents and cross-currents of a complex political situation. It is only after you have finished the book that you begin wondering whether a few changes of mind and fortunate accidents aren't a bit too coincidental and mechanical. But by the time you stop to wonder, you've read a good book.

SALLY ALFORD.

## All Quiet for Remarque

ARCH OF TRIUMPH, *by Erich Maria Remarque. Appleton Century. $3.*

THE new novel by the author of *All Quiet on the Western Front* has been greeted with the standard critical brass band called up for a Book of the Month Club selection; it had already been serialized in *Colliers;* and Hollywood has paid an imposing sum of money for it. At the same time, some of the so-called better critics have pointed out that Remarque's *Arch of Triumph* is the first of a long row of "necessarily disillusioned books to come out of this war."

Erich Maria Remarque's book is neither that masterpiece the Orville Prescotts *et al.* have asserted nor the link to Stendhal, Balzac, Tolstoy, etc., that they pretended to see. On the other hand, it is not a bad book. It is skillfully written; its passages of description of Paris are done with subtlety and charm. And it successfully conveys the atmosphere of certain small circles, the habitues of old *bistros* in the Arch of Triumph district of the city of light in the years before the outbreak of World War II.

It is totally unimportant, however, as an interpretation of our time. The persons Remarque deals with are representative only of a tiny fragment of a long-submerged Paris society. The theme has been handled in a hundred other novels. The melodrama is thickly laid on.

One has only to compare the hero of Louis Aragon's *The Century Was Young,* a similar good-for-nothing client of the Paris brothels, a bitterly rotting man, with Remarque's Dr. Ravic, a



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former famous surgeon degraded by his exile into a performer of questionable medical operations—in order to see how utterly Remarque fell short of his purpose. His novel fails as a mirror of the world; it fails to relate the personal fates of his figures with the developments of history, the one way such a novel can achieve significance.

Remarque's book is one of deep pessimism, of disbelief in human dignity, of general disillusionment. It is pervaded by an atmosphere of alcohol, withering flowers, heavy brothel perfumes, and the despairing moods of broken emigres of the I-once-was-a-Russian-prince type. It is significant that most of the story takes place at night or in the shadow. Whereas Remarque succeeds very often in giving an oppressive but colorful picture of nocturnal scenes, his few daylight scenes turn out colorless and flat.

L. B.

## Talent Without Genius

BAD BOY OF MUSIC, *by George Antheil. Doubleday, Doran. $3.*

GEORGE ANTHEIL has become a minor legend in American music. How much of this legend is fabricated is a matter of controversy. But whatever one's opinion, this book of reminiscences has all the self-conscious uninhibitiveness of the *Ballet Mecanique*. It is the book of a swashbuckler, exhibitionist, indefatigable projector of fabulous schemes. It is also, sadly enough, the story of a talented artist, talented enough to be dissatisfied that he is not a genius. Hence his passion to be everything on a grand scale, while his talents limit him to being many things on a small one. Antheil can turn out a musical piece as easily as anyone; but his fate is always to sound—sometimes amazingly and brilliantly—like someone else, whether it be Stravinsky or Shostakovich. He is an amateur endocrinologist, adviser to the love-lorn, freelance journalist, inventor, military expert extraordinary, adventurer, friend and companion of hundreds of celebrities.

But he must always hold the center of the stage. Here is a book of some 350 pages, scarcely one of which tells how some one else felt about things, or expresses a genuine emotional relation to another person. There is plenty of adulation—some might call it soft-soaping—of important personalities, and occasional nastiness, mostly toward the lesser ones. But despite his flamboyant insouciance, one has the feeling that here Antheil is always on his guard,

Decklinger.

always somewhat unsure of himself. There is rarely any sort of commitment—whether to a musical or any other kind of idea. Antheil is a man who has come in contact with the most influential musicians of the last twenty-five years, who has himself contributed somewhat to musical life. Well, what does he think about modern music? What about the modern composer?

For all that, this is an amusing book. In the hands of another, it might have turned into a fascinating picaresque novel of the twenties. Here and there it catches something of the uneasy stir and hectic creativeness of that period. We envy Antheil his great acquaintances—even though they pass through his pages like unsubstantial spirits. We follow him nostalgically through Paris, Vienna and Berlin. But we cannot escape wondering what Boski, his wife, thought of all this. Like all other people in this book, including Antheil himself, she comes out one-dimensional. But she seems to be an extraordinary person, and it would be interesting to hear what she has to say.

FREDERIC EWEN.

## Building a House

THE BOOK OF HOUSES, *by John P. Dean and Simon Breines. Crown. $2.*
TOMORROW'S HOUSE, *by George Nelson and Henry Wright. Simon & Schuster. $3.*

IN THE critical housing emergency the average citizen, and especially the veteran, is faced with a special danger. Rental homes being unavailable, the demand for family homes has become tremendous, and poorly designed, uneconomic homes may be foisted on a desperate public.

Should we build a home? What should we get for our money? Who should build our house? What will con-



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stitute a really up-to-date house plan? What type of home will be a good investment? Such questions confront thousands of Americans these days. The prospective homeowner should be able to answer them before making a purchase which will have to last him for a long time.

*The Book of Houses*, written jointly by an architect and an economist, supplies many of the answers in very practical terms. It will "steer you away from the bad buys"; give you an insight into the legal and financial problems of home-ownership; make you aware of those features of housing and planning that work toward long-run satisfaction; and suggests "house ideas" that may appeal to your individual taste. Its material on prefabrication and neighborhood facilities will be of much interest, as will its pertinent analysis of the GI Bill of Rights and background data for mutual home-ownership.

A chapter titled "What Price Style?" is a most incisive argument for change in the house design field. Yet the authors show elsewhere a too complacent acceptance of the status quo. They give some excellent examples of modern and functional houses that would fit the pocketbook of the average homebuyer, but they retreat from a sharp break with tradition, as in the authors' warning: "If you are going to build, remember that pioneering doesn't pay. . . ." Progress and change in techniques should be a challenge to the average homeowner too.

QUITE the opposite point of view is expressed in *Tomorrow's House*. Here, a radical point of departure is indicated, but in theoretical and esthetic terminology, remote for all but a few prospective homeowners. The need to build functionally and organically cannot be disputed, but not at $12,000 to $50,000 a house! Sixty-six percent of all American families must build houses costing less than $5,000.

As editors of Henry Luce's *Architectural Forum*, the authors had available magnificent photographs of modern houses, as well as the latest technical data. It is too bad that they have marred their book with "*Time*-and-*Life*" type of wit.

*Tomorrow's House* has, however, much to recommend it. The progressive layman will be interested in its sensible approach to industrialization and rationalization of the building industry, and every reader's mouth will water at the pictures showing what a house can be. But valuable as they may be to architects and builders, they do not fulfil, for enough people, the authors' contention: "We are interested in houses that people can live in now, not in the year 2000." HENRY SCHUBART.

## Recipe Minus Meat

DEMOCRACY'S CHILDREN, *by Ethel M. Duncan. Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge. $2.*

THE movement for organized intercultural and interracial education, for all age levels, has expanded notably during the past half decade. Miss Duncan's book is a contribution toward this end for children of elementary school age, and as such it complements the works of Rachel Davis BuBois, Theodore Brameld, the descriptions of the Springfield Plan, and other publications.

The author's purpose is "to pass along a few tested recipes for building attitudes of mutual understanding and appreciation among the children of varied ethnic groups who meet in the schoolrooms of America." She realizes that this teaching must not be handled as a separate and distinct—and artificial—subject to be dealt with a few minutes per week, or at a semi-annual assembly period, but that rather it must be integrated with the normal work of the school and the everyday experiences of the children. The book contains a few minor errors of fact (the Boston Massacre produced five, not four, martyrs; Sterling Brown's *The Negro Caravan* is very much more than a "collection of poetry"), but there are some basic problems underlying the work that require comment.

The reviewer believes it significant that when Miss Duncan conceives the idea of making the fullest possible use, for her purposes, of the celebrations incident to the birthday month of February, she selects as the protagonist of the Negro—Phillis Wheatley. And we are told that this girl was captured in Africa—a wicked act—and sold as a slave in America—wicked, again—but that luckily her master was kind and she was bright and her poetry attracted the attention of General Washington, and she actually was honored by being allowed to visit him.

A pretty story. Of course, the giant figure of Frederick Douglass also belongs to the month of February, but that's a story of struggle, militant struggle against organized social evil and distinct class enemies (not an Horatio Alger story like George Washington Carver's life, which *is* brought into this book), and that's not "pretty." The hard, basic "facts of life," that fill the


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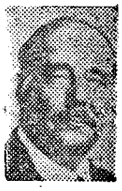

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out-of-school experiences of ninety percent of our children, are not in this book. Children *know* that all is not sweetness and light, for they see struggle and persecution and war and bigotry, and the humanitarian approach is an evasion rather than an answer.

By all means let's get together, let's find out about each other. But let's find out *all* about each other, not only how mother used St. Lucia candles in the "old country," but why she left it. Let's follow Phillis Wheatley to the General's tent, but shall we not accompany Frederick Douglass into the lion's den, too?

HERBERT APTHEKER.

## GI Newspaper

THE STORY OF THE STARS AND STRIPES, *by Bud Hutton and Andy Rooney. Farrar & Rinehart. $3.*

HERE is a bright, random account of the establishment and operation of the GI's newspaper in the ETO. The general effect is that of a good story hastily written in outline form. Well-deserved praise is given to the GI's who put out and distributed the daily regularly, in spite of disheartening natural and man-made obstacles. The importance of the paper as one of the most influential morale factors is fully stressed. Credit is given to Generals Marshall and Eisenhower for their efforts to keep *Stars and Stripes* representative of "the free thought and free expression of a free people."

However, there are times when Messrs. Hutton and Rooney are just too, too bright, when they force the "humor." The repeated scenes of heavy drinking and undisciplined behavior by *S & S* staff writers are touched with adolescent boastfulness. In a similar way the stupidity and limelight play of the "brass" gets away from useful candor to boasting about how the *S & S* men outwitted them. Finally, the authors show a surprising lack of understanding of the value of straight, factual reporting of combat operations as *propaganda*. And instead of appreciating the editorial "brass" for using its columns for orientation material of a progressive, democratic character, the authors blaze away at it as intervention in the affairs of the GI. Yet the chief shortcoming of *S & S* could fairly be said to have been the failure to use the editorial columns to give GI's a better understanding of the nature of the war against fascism, abroad and at home.

MACK ENNIUS.

## Love Without Joy

MODERN WOMEN IN LOVE, *edited by Christina Stead and William Blake. Dryden Press. $3.50.*

THERE are some sixty stories in this anthology, most of them excerpts from novels by American, English and European writers, ranging from D. H. Lawrence and Proust to Katherine Anne Porter and James M. Cain. Each of these is prefaced by a swift account of the preceding action and a short semi-critical resume of the author's life and work.

The publisher seems to have felt that a come-on title and an introduction by Louis Untermeyer would help sell the book. Perhaps they will, but they do not improve it, for the title is misleading and the foreword inadequate. The latter should obviously have been written by either Miss Stead or Mr. Blake.

This is no gay, romantic collection. The reader will be impressed by the destructive elements inherent in modern sexual relations which, for all their apparent freedom, reflect the conflicts of the unfree world. In almost every story, the love of man and woman is invaded by suffering which is doubled because it did not arise from their conscious will and cannot be ministered to solely by their good intentions. Even the sexual act brings less joy than it does wounds, "a bliss in proof, and proved, a very woe."

How did Shakespeare's personal cry become a theme song of the modern writer? It's a pity that the editors did not try an answer.

CHARLES HUMBOLDT.

## "C" Is for Confusion

WHAT THE INFORMED CITIZEN NEEDS TO KNOW, *edited by Bruce Bliven and A. G. Mezerik. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $3.*

OF THE many problems which face America at this moment, Bruce Bliven and A. G. Mezerik have selected, as calling for special attention twenty-two, ranging from the United Nations to our relations with Russia. These problems are covered by presumable experts in each field, but the results are far from satisfactory. The experts may have more information at their disposal, but prove to be as confused as anybody else. Furthermore, each of the problems really requires a book; in the space at their disposal the authors can do little more than state their problem, and at times the statements are rather bald and obvi-



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ous. Another fault is that the pieces are often cases of special pleading.

But the basic fault, which accounts for the general confusion and double-talk, is the "liberalism" which is assumed and never defined, but amounts to looking for solutions within the existing political and economic framework. With such goals these experts cannot get very far. This is the sort of book where indexed under "H" is "hopes, magnificent, ways to"—the sort of book Freshman students are assigned in Political Science I.

E. W. Davis.

## Man in Muddle

THE PERFECT ROUND, *by Henry Morton Robinson. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.*

THE theme of the soldier home from the war and facing readjustment is being given a thorough wring-out by publishers mindful of the issues of the moment, but indifferent to their treatment. Like most of its thematic predecessors, and just as unrealistically, *The Perfect Round* puts an unhealthy emphasis on the psychological instead of the practical, with the difference that its shift is to the sentimental sweet instead of the cynical bitters.

The hero of the tale, Pvt. Wakefield O'Reilly, back from Germany, out of a mental hospital a month, and with several hundred dollars in his jeans, returns to his native Hudson Valley seeking to satisfy his faith that the earth can hold something perfect. "On the earth," he quotes, "the broken arcs, in heaven the perfect round." A broken-down carousel provides him with the opportunity of putting some busted arcs together: the woman enters and what has been up to then a beautifully written and paced, if incontestably overblown, picture of a man and a muddle turns into pulp. From there on you can hear Mr. Robinson calling Hollywood.

Kurt Conway.

## Brief Reviews

ROUSSEAU, KANT, GOETHE, *by Ernst Cassirer. Princeton University. $1.50.*

THIS little study, together with Cassirer's *Essay on Man*, introduces one of the most stimulating of modern German philosophers to the English-reading public. Cassirer is a neo-Kantian idealist, and this blinds him towards the impact of social forces. But, within these limits, he makes an important contribution in applying a dialectic method to philosophy, history and art. It consists in his concept of symbolic function which calls for a dialectic examination of culture in their concrete temporal forms.

He sees a work of art as an organized sensuous form from which arises the world of freedom and the free act. Cassirer applies this theory in his studies of various philosophies and writers. His general view appears in a three-volume work in German on the *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* of which the *Essay on Man* is a concentrated brief summary, and the present volume *Rousseau, Kant, Goethe* an application to specific writers.

TAKE IT EASY, *by Arthur Guy Mathews. Sheridan House. $2.98.*

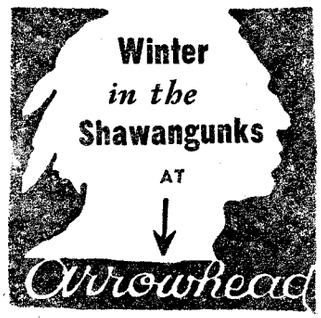
THIS book comes under the heading of so-called "inspirational psychology," but it does not inspire. There is always a need for good popularizations, but *Take It Easy* is bad. Its most dangerous aspects are its continual advocacy of crude will-power as a panacea for mental problems, and its advice against giving rein to mental associations which might lead to the roots of maladjustments which have been thrust from awareness, and thus beyond conscious control. Its discussion of sex is a melange of impractical do's and don't's, with psychological terms arrantly misused.

BOUNDARY-MAKING, *by Stephen B. Jones. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Columbia University Press. $2.*

THIS is a specialist's handbook on the complex problem of establishing boundaries between states. To the layman most of the technicalities Prof. Jones discusses will hardly be of interest, yet on more than one occasion they have exacerbated tempers between countries and given rise to critical disputes. In territory rich in mineral resources there is, for example, a terrific problem in administering mine shafts at different levels: boundaries exist below ground as well as above. Unfortunately, the book is rather weak on the politics which boundary-making reflects. But as a simple expository work the book is valuable.

LOVELY IS THE LEE, *by Robert Gibbings. Dutton. $3.*

ROBERT GIBBINGS writes of the River Lee country in Ireland, its folklore, and the life of the people who dwell in this southwestern part of the Irish Free State. Mr. Gibbings' delicate engravings are in character with the text.

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# ON BROADWAY

For the first five minutes it almost seemed that Garson Kanin's *Born Yesterday* was going to be a truly unusual play, a characterization of sudden and tremendous force. A big, burly man in a business suit stomps into a two-hundred-dollar-a-day hotel apartment, and in Third Avenue accents orders everybody around. A rich, tough, crude kind of a guy uttering rich, tough lines that make the stage start to breathe as though it were real and alive.

But Harry Brock, millionaire junk dealer and aspirant to a monopoly of all World War II leftover metal, hangs around for two hours. While he succeeds in keeping the humor of his character in plentiful evidence, it is so often at the price of a mere gag that the verisimilitude of his character has fuzzed into a caricature, and the play that might have been art ends up as "entertainment."

But good entertainment. Funny as hell. With Billie Dawn, *ex* of the follies at his side, Brock arrives in Washington to set himself up a nice tariff law that will open the way for a junk cartel headed by himself, and to gain his end bribes a Senator. Miss Dawn, who has never had a thought in her life, gets tired of Brock's imperious way of handling her, and when she is placed in the hands of a *New Republic* writer who lives down the hall, she proceeds to fall in love with him. With love comes information about the capitalist world and Billie Dawn goes through a sort of Pygmalion transformation which is half precious and half hilarious, and ends up by her putting the fix on Brock's cartel plot, and going off with the liberal.

The question at critical issue is not whether it could all happen, but whether it seems to. And it does seem to most of the time. Judy Holliday brings to perfection Billie Dawn's half-witted acumen about the facts of life. With her exquisitely controlled trickle of a voice she titillates the audience and then wows them with a brightly timed punch line. As Harry Brock, Paul Douglas makes his stage debut, and his brawling, man-of-the-streets, monomaniac efficacy is undeniable. Perhaps it was the growing broadness of the lines that led him to spread himself too much, but he would have been more convincing if he had been more restrained at times.

The direction by Kanin emphasizes the comic detail, the swing of the hip, the curious mannerism, the detail that helps mightily in creating what reality there is in what after all must be called a schematic play. His comedy is earthy and at the same time slick in the Lindy's or Midtown, manner. His message is healthy—cartels stink. But however strongly he feels about them one cannot help feeling that the actual impact of his condemnation is only as strong as a strictly comic, much oversimplified economic presentation permits it to be, and that can't be very strong at all. Still, the play joins *State of the Union* as one of that new and much-welcomed breed that handles American politics for laughs, and with its smile in the direction of progress. Good.

Matt Wayne.

## Music

Johann Sebastian Bach, and his son Johann Christian captured New York on Monday evening, February 18. While the father held forth in a magnificent Mass in B-minor at Carnegie Hall, father and son displayed their talents in smaller compass at the Bach Circle concert at Town Hall. This was the first visit of the Bach Choir of Bethlehem to New York, and it proved by its performance that it is one of the greatest choral groups in the country. Assisted by the Philadelphia Orchestra, admirable soloists, and led by Ifor Jones, it gave a dramatic and august version, which by its grandeur of conception and intensity of expression made for an unforgettable evening.

The programs of the Bach Circle are always a musical delight, for there is novelty and unconventionality as well as rare and lovely music. This evening was no exception. Miss Yella Pessl had the assistance of the Guilet Quartet, and together they made old music live again. The rarity on the program was a first performance of an unpublished Concerto for hapsichord and strings by Johann Christian Bach, dainty and pretty and already thoroughly worldly—in the manner of the eighteenth century. By contrast, his father's Toccata in D-major and Concerto for harpsichord and strings sounded reprovingly severe and grand. Then came the wonderful melodies of Haydn, represented by the Sonata in B-minor for harpsichord, and the Trio in D-minor—both splendidly performed. In the sonata, Miss Pessl once more showed herself to be one of our exceptional virtuosi, and throughout both she and the assist-



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ing group played with love and understanding.

THE Philharmonic concert of February 14 honored Lincoln with Aaron Copland's *A Lincoln Portrait*, in which Kenneth Spencer eloquently recited the immortal words of the President. The portrait is genuine and persuasive; it avoids the pitfalls of grandeur; its folk-like quality and unassuming friendliness serve as vivid background for a great and simple prose. The remaining portion of the program again proved how good a program-maker Mr. Rodzinski can be.

Szymanowski's Concerto for Violin and Orchestra (which the late Paul Kochanski performed now and then) is a work that stands up well. John Corigliano met and overcame its difficulties with expertness. In parts, the concerto sings beautifully. It is late-impressionist in style. Mr. Rodzinski led the orchestra in a brilliant performance of Brahms' First Symphony, which, to one who like myself has grown weary of the symphonic over-ripeness of this master, made the work sound interesting and fresh once more.

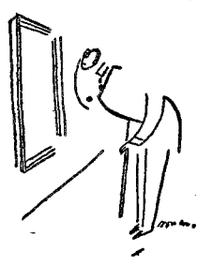
FREDERIC EWEN.

## Some Jazz Recordings

PROOF of the vitality of the folk idiom in music is the amount of interesting popular music that has been continuously inspired by the essentially simple germ phrases of the blues. Out of a batch of recent Victor and Bluebird records, the following are interesting examples, although not, I think, anything near to masterpieces of the form. On "Time's a-Wastin'" (Victor 20-1718) Duke Ellington's men take a familiar blues riff as the basis for three fine improvised solos, and the reverse side, "Every Hour on the Hour," discloses how much more expressive an imaginative sax player can make a tune, compared to a routine singer.

The influence both of the Duke and of his star clarinetist, Barney Bigard, are evident on "Mysterioso" by Artie Shaw's Gramercy Five, which opens with some deliberately weird glissandos, and then embarks upon an effective sobbing blues (Victor 20-1800). On a folk blues record Jazz Gillum sings entertainingly of his troubles with doctors and lawyers, "Afraid to Trust Them," and his mooching friends, "Whiskey Head Buddies," aided by an expert boogie-woogie pianist (Bluebird 34-0741).

S. F.

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